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VOLUME 10

Res Publica Constituta

Actium, Apollo and the Accomplishment of
the Triumviral Assignment

By

Carsten Hjort Lange



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Illustration on the cover: pax coin. A large issue of these coins (cistophoric tetradrachms) was struck in Asia in 28 BC. It celebrates the ending of the war against Cleopatra and Antonius and has the phrase 'LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX' as its obverse legend. The reverse shows a personified *Pax*. With kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

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My parents, for all their support

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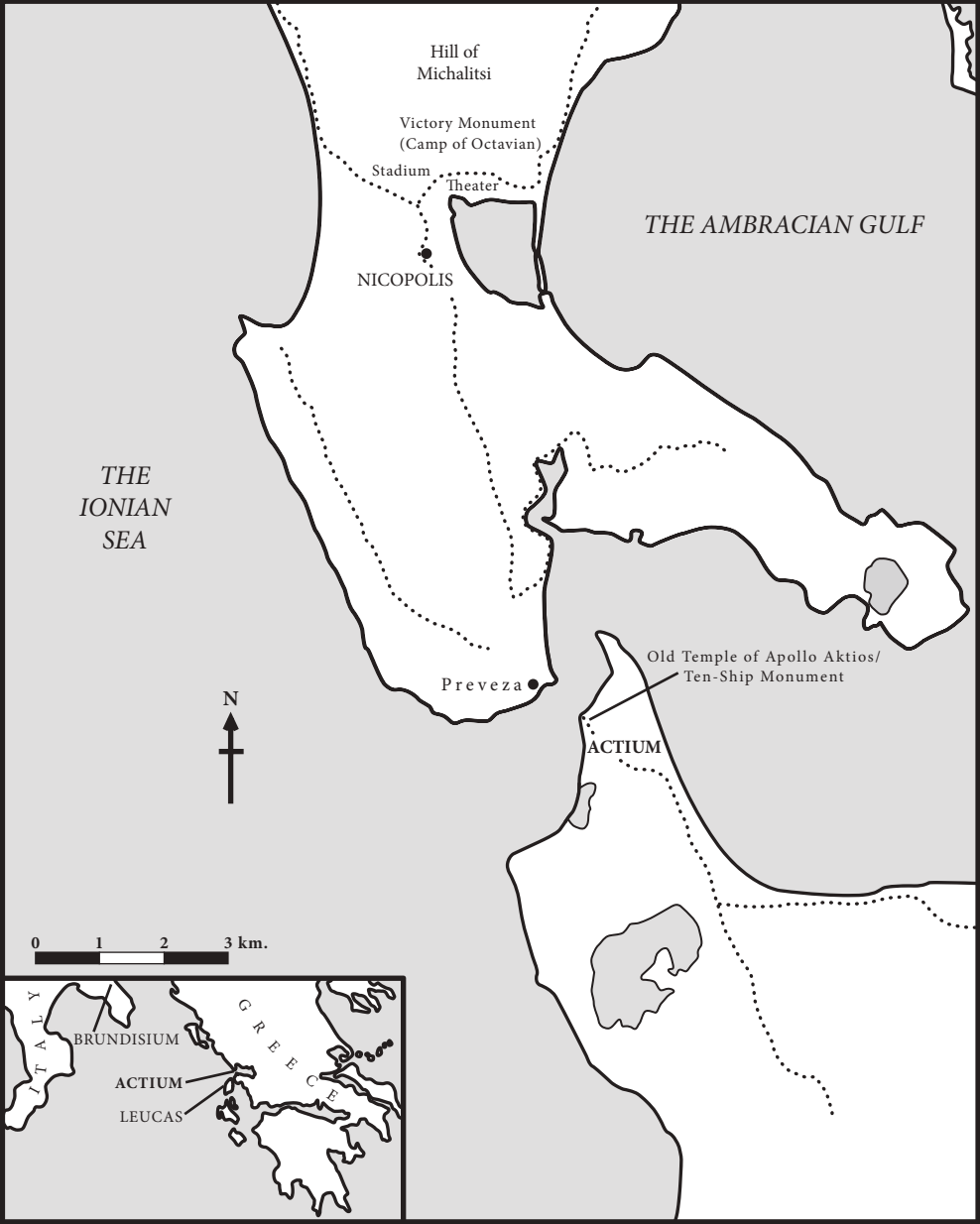
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ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i> (Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology)
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BMC	Mattingly, H., <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , vol. 1 and vol. 3 (London, 1923/1936)
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CQ	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>The Classical Review</i>
EJ	Ehrenberg, V. & Jones, A.H.M., <i>Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> (2nd ed., reprinted with addenda, Oxford, 1979)
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGRR	R. Cagnat, J. Toutain et al. (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res romanas pertinentes</i> , vols., 1, 3, 4 (no more publ.) (Paris, 1901–1927, repr. 1964)
ILLRP	Degrassi, A., <i>Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae</i> (Florence, 1975–1963)
ILS	Dessau, H., <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (Berlin, 1892–1916)
IRTripol	Reynolds, J.M. & Ward-Perkins, J.B., <i>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> (Rome, 1952)
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
LIMC	Balty, J.C. (ed.), <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , (Zürich and Munich, 1981–1997)
LTUR	Steinby, E.M. (ed.), <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> (Rome, 1993–1999)
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>

MDAI (A)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
MDAI (R)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
Nicopolis 1	Chrysos, E. (ed.), <i>Nicopolis 1. Proceedings of the first International Symposium on Nicopolis (23–29 September 1984)</i> (Preveza, 1987)
Nicopolis B	Zachos, K., <i>Nicopolis B. Proceedings of the Second International Nicopolis Symposium (11–15 September 2002)</i> , 2 vols. (Preveza, 2007)
OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RIC	Sutherland, C.H.V., <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> 1 ² (London, 1974)
RG	<i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i>
RRC	Crawford, M.H., <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> (Cambridge, 1974)
Smallwood	Smallwood, M., <i>Documents illustrating the principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero</i> (Cambridge, 1967)
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>



Map of Actium, North-Western Greece.

INTRODUCTION

Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit: homini Eutychnus, bestiae Nikon erat nomen; utrisque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit.

At Actium as he was going down to begin the battle, he met an ass with his driver, the man having the name Eutychnos [Lucky] and the beast that of Nikon [Victor]; and after the victory he set up bronze images of the two in the sacred enclosure into which he converted the site of his camp (Suet. *Aug.* 96.2).¹

Prodigies were a standard feature of Roman historiography and the triumphal period was no exception. The setting of this story is the hill of Michalitsi just before the battle of Actium on 2nd September 31 BC, north of the future Nicopolis, where the statue of the donkey and the driver was erected on Octavian's Victory Monument (Plut. *Ant.* 65.3). Together with rams from captured enemy ships the statue showed that Octavian was helped by the gods in his victory at Actium.² The luck might refer to Apollo, who also had a statue on the monument, as he was the god that helped Octavian to victory. Octavian clearly thought it was important to spread the story of divine intervention at Actium. The legend of Actium was born.

Historical analysis and the ideology of the regime of Octavian/Augustus, not narrative, is the subject of this book. A re-evaluation of Augustus' rise to power in 43–27 BC, first as triumvir, and then as sole ruler, will be central to the analysis, focusing particularly on the part played by ideological claims. The various measures undertaken by the victor of Actium to create, and legitimate a new system of government in Rome will be examined, and in particular the ways in which the Caesarian regime represented and commemorated the battle of Actium and turned it to Octavian/Augustus's purpose.

The battle of Actium was relatively more important than the capture of Alexandria in the ideology of the regime, but at the same time the two battles must be understood together, as part of the accomplishment

¹ Trans. Rolfe 1951. Suet. *Aug.* 96 gives a list of Augustus' omens before battle.

² See Pelling 1988, 265, 281; Lorsch 2000 on the propaganda of omens.

of the assignment of the triumvirate (restoring the *res publica* to order and ending the civil war). According to the regime, Apollo had a major role to play in this development, helping Octavian to win the battle of Actium. There are many possible themes that could have been exploited, looking at contemporary ideological developments, but the nexus of Actium, Apollo, civil war and peace all centre round the triumvirate and triumviral assignment. What follows is the story of the Victor and how he “wrote” the history of the period. This does not turn this analysis into uncritical praise for Augustus, but the purpose is to explain the ideology of the regime, instead of proving it wrong and deceptive. This book is not however, and does not claim to be, an exhaustive treatment of Augustan ideology, but hopes to make its contribution to discussions of the triumvirate and the Augustan Principate.

There is a generally held consensus amongst scholars that Actium was presented as a foreign war and that Octavian/Augustus tried to conceal that it was in fact a civil war. This book will reflect on the issue and challenge this consensus. Furthermore, there is a tendency to look at this period in a deterministic manner. But most likely this was the civil war that should not have been; in 36 BC the civil wars were ended after the victory over Sextus Pompeius, and the powers of the triumvirate were to be laid down. But in the end the foreign war against Cleopatra had to be fought. In this war Antonius decided to make war on his own country and thus a foreign war turned into a civil war, or at least these were the events as claimed by Octavian/Augustus. This blurring of foreign and civil war was the result of the war of words, the build-up to the war itself; the fight to position oneself as anything but the aggressor.

The pre-Actium period, focusing on *pax*, civil war and Apollo, from the death of Caesar to Naulochus in 36 BC, stressing their ideological justification as seen from Octavian/Augustus’s point of view, will be discussed in chapter 1. It will be argued that the triumvirate was the cornerstone of this justification and that fixed-term tasks, including the constituting of the *res publica*, became the standard way to justify the triumvirate and later the monarchy. Chapter 2 focuses on the approach to war against Antonius and Cleopatra; how it was represented and how Octavian justified his position within the state after the second term of the triumviral period had lapsed at the end of 33 BC. It will be stressed that the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment was the central justification once more. As mentioned, the war was declared

on Cleopatra, but later Antonius decided to fight with her against the *res publica*, thus turning a foreign war into a civil war. This conclusion will be supported in chapter 3 by an examination of the way in which the conflict is represented in contemporary and later sources. It will be argued that the ideology of the regime never denied or downplayed the civil war aspect, but at the same time, the way events turned out presented problems of conceptualizing the victories, which is reflected in the ambivalent practice in the ancient evidence—some mention one war and some mention two.

After the battle Octavian commemorated the victories of Actium and Alexandria in various ways. Chapter 4 will examine the onsite commemorations of the battle of Actium, especially the Victory Monument of Octavian. This monument is quickly becoming more and more important due to the fabulous new findings by Zachos. The monument will be re-evaluated and it will be suggested that the key to understanding the monument and its connections to Rome is its monumental inscription. Chapter 5 will describe the honours presented to Octavian at Rome by the Senate after the wars at Actium and Alexandria, and before he returned to the city in 29 BC. These honours have been understudied and thus this excursus aims to shed light on them in their chronological setting, to show the great importance of the two victories. Chapter 6 focuses on the period between 29 and 27 BC. It will be suggested that there is a likely connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium. Furthermore, the importance of peace will be stressed, as the symbol of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. As mentioned it will be suggested that the settlement of 28–27 BC constitutes the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, the fulfilment of the responsibility entrusted to the *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*.

Stressing the importance of this particular nexus is new and promises to shed light on the justifications of Octavian/Augustus in the period 43–27 BC and beyond. Syme famously wrote:

The Triumviral period is tangled, chaotic and hideous. To take it all for granted, however, and make a clean beginning after Actium, or in 27 BC is an offence against the nature of history and is the prime cause of many pertinacious delusions about the *Principate* of Augustus (1939, 3, n. 2).

Augustus focused on the good result, peace, and less so on the hideous nature of the civil war, but he probably would have agreed, as this is

indeed how it is presented in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (RG); there is no Caesarian/Augustan history without triumphal history.

The Actian ideology has received renewed interest since 1995 due to the provocative book *Actium and Augustus. The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* by Gurval. The book's central arguments are that Actium was less important in public perception at the time than scholars traditionally have thought, and that it was not until Virgil's account in the *Aeneid* that Apollo was credited with a role in the victory.³ This analysis will show that in both instances this is a misconception of the ideology of the regime. Gurval has presented scholars with an opportunity to look at Actium with new eyes, taking his criticism into account. But he all but ignores the onsite commemorations at Actium, minimises the historical evidence and instead focuses one-sidedly on poetry. An unfortunate problem facing every kind of work on the triumphal and Augustan period is of course the lack of contemporary evidence, as much Latin historiography has simply not survived.⁴ Importantly, later sources would have worked from contemporary evidence, at least implicitly, using evidence that derived from contemporary sources. To exclude the historical tradition is very odd indeed. In general Gurval's book is very negative in its approach, as it concentrates on things that are, according to the author, wrong; Alexandria is of far greater importance than Actium according to Gurval, but Alexandria does play a relatively minor role in the book.

Osgood's *Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* from 2006 certainly needs an honourable mention, not the least because it covers the triumphal period, which has been much understudied in the English speaking world. Osgood has set out to write an essentially narrative history of the period and above all to show how the developments of the period are reflected in contemporary literature, which he does convincingly, clearly showing the huge disruptions caused by the triumvirs to Rome and its empire. His is a very different

³ For a good statement of the traditional view which Gurval is attacking see Zanker 1983. For a critical review of Gurval 1995, see Pelling 1997, 289–290. See also Welch 2005, 81–82; Milnor 2005, 50, n. 7; Hutchinson 2006, 152. Specifically on Apollo, Millar, J.F. 1998, 549, stresses that even without contemporary sources it is difficult to believe Gurval, as retrospective developments (28 BC) are not exceptional in poetry (549). Hekster and Rich 2006, 164 rightly conclude that it is unlikely that the contemporaries would not have made any connection between the temple and Actium.

⁴ See Kraus 2005, esp. 181.

approach to this analysis, but importantly, he has provided us with a comprehensive picture of the triumviral period.⁵

The single most important piece of ancient evidence for the ideology of Augustus is the *RG*.⁶ Nowadays there seems to be a tendency to approach the *RG* as a means of revealing Augustus and his deceptive ways, what might be called the right-or-wrong approach to history.⁷ Alföldy observes that the *RG* is different from biographies, and in continuation of this point stresses that inscriptions did not normally focus on the negative qualities of the honorand.⁸ That Augustus does stress civil war more than once seems not to have distracted him from that conclusion (*RG* 3.1; 34.1). One might say that the ending of the civil wars is stressed, but the good ending only makes sense as a counter-balance to the not so good, i.e. the civil war itself. One might suggest that negative things are not left out, but used to stress the coming of a new and better age of universal peace. Had Augustus tried to deceive he would have jeopardised his *res gestae*. Not to mention the negative sides of Octavian would be absurd; it is by addressing the negative aspects that justification becomes possible.

The *RG* was a document written by Augustus, presented to the world as such (Suet. *Aug.* 101.1–4; Dio 56.33.1) and read in the Senate after his death. The documents kept by the Vestal Virgins including the *RG* were sealed and the instructions were simple; the intention was to have the document, the *RG*, inscribed on bronze tablets in front of Augustus' Mausoleum on the *Campus Martius* (*ante Mausoleum* according

⁵ According to Osgood 2006, 351 the myth of Actium at Rome may have been “different” from the battle known in other parts of the empire. While this is no doubt true, the commemorations onsite seem to show that the regime presented the victory in a similar fashion at Actium and at Rome. See also Nappa 2005, 1.

⁶ Lange 2008a discusses this issue at greater length. The lacunas in the Latin text are only indicated by square brackets where the text of Brunt and Moore has been shown to be wrong. For this see now the new edition by Scheid 2007 and the new English edition by A. Cooley (*forthcoming*, CUP).

⁷ There is a tendency among historians to try to make known, to expose, something that has been concealed. See Hedrick 2000, 133. Syme 1939, 522 stresses the *RG* as “the hall-mark of official truth”. Similarly Jones 1977, 168–169; Yavetz 1984, 23; Ramage 1987, 32–37. Eder 1990, 71; Osgood 2006, 182 oddly stress that civil war issues are omitted from the *RG*. Of course the *RG* constitutes Augustus' truth, but what is missing is an explanation for why he wrote as he did. Cartledge 1975, 31 adopts a working hypothesis that Augustus was a crook. This might indeed be true, as was probably Antonius, but it is difficult to see how that should increase the understanding and knowledge of Augustus.

⁸ Alföldy 2005, 32. Alföldy 1991 is a brilliant example of the difference between approaching inscriptions and historical writing.

to Suet. *Aug.* 101.4). Suetonius mentions that they were *tabulae*. There was also a document with instructions for his funeral (*Mandata de funere suo*); nothing was left to chance. This is the context Augustus chose himself; the *RG* is an inscription, a fact too often overlooked by modern scholars who write as if the *RG* was a literary text. Unlike a literary text an inscription is always part of a monument.⁹ Millar points out that we ought to look up from our book and doing so, we would see the Mausoleum with the statue of Augustus. He concludes that nobody, in antiquity that is, would be clever enough to read it as a republican ‘document’.¹⁰ This is how Augustus wanted to be perceived by posterity.¹¹ Thus one conclusion to be made already is the difference in audience between the document and the inscription, the document being Augustan and the inscription Tiberian, the inscription being set up in a garden open to the public, the former being read out to the Senate (Suet. *Aug.* 100.4; 101).

Looking at the specific nexus of this analysis, as mentioned in the *RG*, the Augustan Peace altar is mentioned in *RG* 12, the next chapter mentions the closing of the temple of Janus, the honour after the victories of Antonius and Cleopatra that pleased Augustus the most (Dio 51.20.4). The *Ara Pacis* was put up later, but the inscription’s chronology is relative. According to *RG* 13 the temple of Janus was closed when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the empire. Similar statements appear in Livy 1.19.3 on Actium and the inscription from the Victory Monument at Actium itself: Actium meant peace.¹²

The ‘Horologium’ commemorates the capture of Egypt, as mentioned in the inscription on the base; the obelisk of course belongs to Apollo, Augustus’ patron god and helper at Actium.¹³ The Mausoleum is best looked at in the context of 32 BC and the will of Antonius, with his

⁹ See Alföldy 1991, 292; Elsner 1996; Güven 1998. Ramage 1987 and Ridley 2003 neither stress the inscription and its context. Rehak 2006 accepts that the context of the *RG* is the Mausoleum (54–58), but oddly sees a difference between the monarchical buildings of the *Campus Martius* and the “Republican” *RG* (8). Haselberger 2007, 35 is surprised that the Mausoleum is not mentioned in the *RG*, but forgets to explain that the inscription was put up in front of it.

¹⁰ Millar 1984a, 58. See also Rehak 2006, 8.

¹¹ *RG* 8.5 on posterity.

¹² See Murray and Petsas 1989, 76.

¹³ The dedication of the inscription is to *Soli donum dedit* (*CIL* VI 702; Taf. 109.1), and also mentions *Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacta*, closely resembled in *RG* 27.1. On Apollo as the patron god of Octavian, see Hekster and Rich 2006.

wish to be buried in Alexandria next to Cleopatra. The Mausoleum in Rome is the perfect counterpart to Alexandria.¹⁴ The field of Mars turned into the field of peace, a symbol of Octavian/Augustus' peace after his victories. Importantly, the entrances of both the Mausoleum and the Augustan Peace Altar point inwards to the *Campus*, not out to the *via Flaminia* or the Tiber.

According to Buchner the birthday of Augustus was central to the area and on 23rd September (Augustus' birthday and *feriae* for Actium) a shadow from the obelisk would point to the centre of the Peace Altar. Sadly, this theory did not stand the test of time and a physicist from Tübingen.¹⁵ However, as quite an oddity Augustus mentions his own birth in *RG* 13; Roman history is divided into two parts and Augustus' birth is the turning point. This makes Augustus a godlike person, perhaps even sent by the gods.¹⁶ The victory in the war against Cleopatra and Antonius meant peace for Rome, all visible on the *Campus Martius* when the *RG* was inscribed as Augustus' last alteration to the area, a peace that was only possible with Augustus.

What is vital for this analysis is that the *RG* is how Augustus wanted to be perceived and how he himself perceived the past, his own past, and how he justified his actions. There is no reason to believe that the chapter divisions do not go back to the original inscription and Augustus' draft and thus a reading of structure is possible.¹⁷ Therefore, a theory

¹⁴ Suet. *Aug.* 100.4 mentions that the structure was built in his sixth consulship: *sexto suo consulatu extruxerat*, but clearly it could not have been built in 28 BC. Dio 53.30.5 even suggests it may not have been finished in 23 BC. Looking at the context of the building 32 BC is by far the most likely candidate, as a counterbalance to will of Antonius. See Dio 50.3.5; Plut. *Ant.* 58.4. Importantly, Octavian did choose to finish the tomb of Antonius and Cleopatra in Alexandria and allow them to be buried there (Suet. *Aug.* 17.4). See Kraft 1967 for 32 BC.

¹⁵ Buchner 1982 and 1988, 240–245. For the criticism see Schütz 1990, 432–457, comprehensively refuting the measurements of Buchner. Schütz stresses that even if Buchner was correct, the shadow to pierce the *Ara Pacis* on the birthday of Augustus would have been invisible six metres from the monument (1990, 451). Buchner 1996, 161–168 has tried to hit back, but his theory seems tenuous. For criticism of Buchner, see also Barton 1995, esp. 44–46; Rehak 2006, 62–95; Heslin 2007. A new defence of the theory of Buchner, with his blessing, has now been launched in Haselberger 2007, 169, n. 220.

¹⁶ See Gabba 1995, 11–14. This bears resemblance to the idea of the Messiah (Norden 1924). See Suet. *Aug.* 100.3; 94.3. According to Weber 1936, 102–104; Bosworth 1999; Gradel 2002a, 281 the *RG* might be Augustus' argument, his *apologia*, for state divinity.

¹⁷ The Ankara (Latin and Greek) and Antioch-in-Pisidia (Latin) texts all start a new paragraph for each chapter, with the first two letters of each chapter indented to the left; the chapter divisions are ignored in the Greek-only text at Apollonia. See Scheid

about the *RG* should in principle be in agreement with all chapters of the inscription, but also with the historical and ideological context. The inscription should be used in its entirety, not just for cherry-picking.¹⁸ Summing up, the *RG* presents us with the official ideology of the regime, as it was perceived by Augustus himself.

One area that has attracted a lot of attention is the relationship between the “Augustan” poets and Octavian/Augustus, especially focusing on the Principate. Eagleton, writing on today’s society, concludes that ideas/ideology do not have to be produced by the ruling class; perhaps they are just ideas which happen to be in the possession of the rulers (1991, 44).¹⁹ Of course the poets are not non-elite, but that does not automatically make them ideologists of the regime. There seems to be a good reason to describe the connection between the poets and the regime as a dialogue.²⁰

There is no doubt that there were reactions to civil war in the sources of the late Republic and later.²¹ It was part of Roman life in and after the Late Republic and thus reactions continued to appear in the ancient testimony. Of course civil war was disgraceful. But, as Caesar earlier, Octavian knew to use it for his own sake, against his enemies.²² Nothing shows that Augustus tried to stop the civil war from being mentioned; but there is hardly a reason why the official line should contribute to this picture. Truth is hardly the issue here, and in fact Augustus as mentioned accepted that it was indeed a civil war (*RG* 34).

2007, lxxi–ii and in his texts of the various inscriptions. However, he does not speculate on the origin of the chapter division. The coincidence of arrangement at Ankara and Antioch shows that the chapter divisions must have been present in the text issued by the Galatian governor. It would be possible to suppose that they were introduced in Galatia, but it seems much more likely that they derive from the original text as drafted by Augustus and inscribed at the Mausoleum.

¹⁸ Heuss 1975, esp. 56, 62.

¹⁹ See also Morgan 1999, 128; Johnson 1976, 7–8, stressing that propaganda cannot or should not ignore the prevailing mood of the public. See also Mackie 1992, 66 on popular ideology at Rome.

²⁰ Alföldi 1970; Feeney 1992, esp. 3; 1998; Zanker 1990; Kennedy 1992, esp. 37. Feeney 2007, 133 rightly observes that studies of ideology sometimes create an impression of a very homogeneous system. He, perhaps not unfairly, mentions Zanker 1987/1990 as an example. On the relationship between poets and the regime, see White 1993.

²¹ See Millar 1984b; Henderson 1998.

²² According to Collins 1972, 957 the strongest note running through the *Bellum Civile* is that Caesar’s cause was that of peace, even though this is only claimed once (1.5.5). The enemies of Caesar caused the turmoil and thus were to blame according to Caesar (1.32.3). See also Gelzer 1963/1967, 443. Henderson 1998, 37–69 on Caesar and civil war.

The contemporary writers shared the experience of the civil war period which was vital in creating the ideology of the Augustan age. Oral memory stretches over approximately three generations which means that Actium and the civil war were well known and part of the collective memory during the Augustan age.²³ For the contemporaries, unlike us, who only “remember” the war through its literary texts, this was within living memory. This of course does not show that the war was portrayed as a civil war in the official ideology, but nothing suggests with any certainty that Augustus did, one way or the other force his contemporaries not to mention the civil war.²⁴

It will for now be presupposed that everybody knew there was a civil war going on; Romans took part in it, and they fought against fellow Romans. No matter how one approaches this question, there were obviously quite a few Romans who had no difficulty killing fellow Romans.²⁵ Warfare in the ancient world was personal, in decision-making, and certainly also by soldiers doing the actual fighting face to face.²⁶ Egypt’s role in this particular conflict is important, and one result of the ending of the civil wars was that Rome conquered Egypt, but the war at Actium and Alexandria was fought between Roman generals who both believed they were fighting for the *res publica*.

A central issue is how to look for civil war in any given ancient testimony. Things are mentioned differently by each author, but there seem to be three main possibilities: to mention civil war as a civil war, not to mention civil war (but just war), or to state directly that something was not a civil war, but a foreign war (against Egypt). This might be taken as deception. But if the main adversaries are of the same origin, meaning Romans, and Romans did the fighting, surely that means

²³ Assmann 1999, 13–15; Gowing 2005, 1–17.

²⁴ Sen. *Ben.* 5.25.2 on a story about Tiberius and *optanda erat oblivio* (“it was the emperor’s wish to forget”). Translation by Gowing 2005, 1. This can hardly be used as a general description of the emperors.

²⁵ Keaveney 2007, 84.

²⁶ Campbell 2002, 1. The question of making war in general make sense in literature has been studied by Fussell, looking at the trench warfare in the First World War. This is not to say that this material can be used to understand the Augustan age, but it does stress the huge impact of war. According to Marwick 1974, 11–14 there are four features of war: destruction and disruption, testing the society’s institutions and reforming them in some cases, participation, in this case that the men fighting men were a large part of the population, and the result, a large psychological impact and legacy. There is no doubt that a huge emotional impact from the civil war is visible in the poetry of the period. See Liebeschuetz 1979, 55; Wallace-Hadrill 1993, 8–9.

civil war. In the case of Actium there certainly is a blurring of foreign and civil war.²⁷ Livy, living himself through the period of civil war, is suggestive (1.23.1):

Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque...

With this answer the Albans returned to their city, and both sides prepared for war with the greatest energy—a civil war, to all intents and purposes, almost as if fathers were arrayed against sons;... (trans. Foster 1919).²⁸

This seems a good definition of civil war: fathers and sons killing each other, i.e. Romans killing Romans. And in Livy's own time the Romans and the Albans were of course Roman citizens. This might indeed be Livy presenting the present in the past.²⁹

The contemporary authors together with the rest of society shared the experience of civil war. In 49 BC Cicero (*ad Fam.* 16.12.2) mentions that *me clamante, nihil esse bello civili miserius* ("in spite of my outcries that the worst of all miseries is a civil war").³⁰ Seneca in the

²⁷ There is for example an abundance of civil war in the *Georgica*: the murder of Caesar (1.466–68), which seems to be a turning point, the clashing of Roman armies at Philippi (1.490) and even the bees do have civil wars (4.67–87). This story of the bees does point to contemporary fear of civil war, or perhaps better, continuant civil war. See Nappa 2005, 170.

²⁸ See also Morgan 1998, 183 stressing that there is civil war in the second half of *Aeneid*, because Trojans were fighting Latins. They would later make up Rome. Lucan 7.545–96 describes the civil war as citizens against citizens, relative against relative (see also 5.721–815).

²⁹ See also 4.2: *Domus plus belli concitari quam foris*. There is more war at home than abroad. In 4.9 the *legati ab Ardea* come to Rome and begs for help to their city. The city is described as a city with no peace, but *intestina arma*, because of a faction, which is more destructive than foreign wars, famine and pestilence. On this, see von Haehling 1989, 118, who sees this as a warning against civil war. The faction is of course very interesting, as it is mentioned prominently in *RG* 1.1, and surely goes back to 44 BC. Furthermore, Livy 1.13.2f with the Sabine women being mothers and daughters, and thus the war is a civil war between Romans and Sabines: *Ex bello tam tristi*, a sad war. Livy even mentions that the war was *nefando* (*nefas*), was impious, because of this. See also Ovid *Fasti* 3.201–202, mentioning civil war. The story is also known from other ancient sources, see Miles 1995, 186–187; Jaeger 1997, 30–56. Von Haehling 1989, 77 oddly concludes that contemporary history is not used much in the 1st Pentade. Against this, see Chaplin 2000, 30. See also Liebeschuetz 1979, 91 on the use of religion: the reforms of Numa as a means of putting right the problems of the late Republic.

³⁰ Trans. Williams 1926. See also Sallust on the terrible effects of civil war (*Bellum Catilinae* 61.7–9), and Tac. *Ann.* 3.28.1 with the famous *non mos, non ius*, a truly fascinating description of civil war, although he only says *discordia*. But *discordia* is used in the Late Republic in connection with civil war. See Cic. *Phil.* 7.25; 13.1; Virg.

Controversiae mentions a telling epigram by the Augustan historian T. Labienus stressing *optima civilis belli defensio oblivio est* (10.3.5: “the best defence against civil war is to forget it”).³¹ The horrors of civil war are stressed, but mentioning it (in writing) does not make you forget it; civil war must be remembered so that it hopefully will not happen again. To write that it should be forgotten is a rhetorical exercise.

The civil war changed Rome forever and Actium was the turning point in that war. In fact the battle of Actium became the date for a new era in Macedonia, Thessaly, Asia Minor and Syria.³² But Augustus realised that victory was not enough, peace was what people wanted. He also realised early on that whatever he did, it needed to be justified, one way or the other. That is why the triumvirate was so vital, together with the divine intervention of the gods (Apollo, Mars and Neptune) and this is why Actium, civil war, peace and the triumvirate should be understood together; the triumviral assignment was the justification and peace the end-result. Peace just sounds so much better than victory after civil war.

Ecl. 1.71. See also Osgood 2006, 153. Ennius also used *discordia* in connection with civil war. See Skutsch 1985, fr. 225–226.

³¹ Trans. Winterbottom 1974. Milnor 2005, 235 rightly stresses the oddity in bringing civil war into it at all, if you want to forget it.

³² Leschhorn 1993, 225–228; Feeney 2007, 140.

CHAPTER ONE

THE TRIUMVIRATE

The central nexus of *pax*, civil war and Apollo already formed a vital part in the ideological justifications of the young Octavian during the period from the death of Caesar down to Naulochus in 36 BC. These justifications later had implications for the war at Actium and Alexandria, as well as the settlement of 28–27 BC. The triumvirate was the cornerstone of this justification, a factor that has been neglected by scholars. The justifications are unsurprisingly contrary to those of Antonius, but the focus here is mainly on Octavian/Augustus.

Octavian was in Apollonia, the city of Apollo, on 15th March 44 BC when Caesar was murdered. Here he learned that he was mentioned as his heir and therefore returned to Italy.¹ After a popular reaction from the veterans of Caesar at Brundisium, Octavian decided to accept his inheritance.² Vitally, in the will Octavian/Octavius was adopted into the family and name of Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 83.2; Plut. *Brut.* 22.3; 57.4; App. *B.C.* 2.143; 3.14; Dio 45.3.2; Nic.Dam. *Vita Caes.* 18.55).³

To accept the adoption and name of Caesar meant that Octavian had to protect the memory of his father. According to Florus the civil war between Antonius and Octavian was a direct result of the will of

¹ Strabo 13.4.3; Vell. 2.59.4; Nic.Dam. *Vita Caes.* 16; Sen. *Ep.* 15.2.46; Suet. *Aug.* 8.2; 89.1; App. *B.C.* 3.9.30; Dio 43.51.7. Heir of Caesar, see Suet. *Div.Iul.* 83; Dio 44.35.2.

² Toher 2004, 174. See also Vell. 2.59.5; App. *B.C.* 3.10.35–11.39; Nic.Dam. *Vita Caes.* 17–18; Dio 45.3.2.

³ On the names of Octavian/Augustus, see Syme 1958a. According to Cic. *Phil.* 3.6.15; *Phil.* 13.9.19; 13.11.24–25 Antonius attacked Octavian for owing everything to his name. See Scott 1933, 12–13; Charlesworth 1933, 173–174. On the will, see Schmitthenner 1973, 65–76; 91–93; Dettenhofer 2000, 29; Sumi 2005, 128–129. According to Schmitthenner 1973, 26 the adoption was not very important for Octavian, and was only valid if Caesar would not get a son (*postumus filius*). Schmitthenner is contesting the idea of Weinstock 1971, 14, stressing that Caesar made Octavian his heir (Schmitthenner 1973, 97, n. 8). According to Schmitthenner the will was not even a real adoption (32–35, 39–64), but this is not in accordance with Suet. *Aug.* 68.1: Antonius did not attack the will, but the unnatural relation (*stupro*). Against Schmitthenner, see Kienast 1999, 3–8. See also Osgood 2006, 31 with further bibliography. That the will was only a private document is obvious (Schmitthenner 1973, 36; Dettenhofer 2000, 28–29), but hardly changes the political implications of the will.

Caesar (2.15.1): *Prima civilium motuum causa testamentum Caesaris fuit* (“The first cause of civil dissension was Caesar’s will”) (see also Tac. *Ann.* 1.9.3–4; 1.10.1).⁴ On 16th March Lepidus called for the vengeance of Caesar from the *rostra* in the Forum (Nic.Dam. *Vita Caes.* 27.103). Octavian’s filial *pietas* thus became a factor uniting the three men who would go on to form the triumvirate.⁵ Importantly, from 1st January 42 BC, Octavian became *Divi filius*.⁶

1.1. *The champion of the res publica: Octavian’s political beginnings*

The RG is a good starting point in understanding the early political days of Octavian and will here be used to describe the period down to the triumvirate. The inscription seems to have an introduction and a conclusion: chapters 1–2 and chapters 34–35. There is a chronological coherence: the 19-year-old *privatus* (RG 1.1) eventually becomes *pater patriae* (RG 35.1).⁷ RG 1 reads:

Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi. Eo nomine senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit, C. Pansa et A. Hirtio consulibus, consularem locum sententiae dicendae tribuens, et imperium mihi dedit. Res publica ne quid detrimenti caperet, me propraetore simul cum consulibus providere iussit. Populus autem eodem anno me consulem, cum cos. uterque bello cecidisset, et triumvirum rei publicae constituendae creavit.

⁴ Trans. Forster 1984.

⁵ On ideological labels like *pietas*, see Syme 1939, chapter 11. Mackie 1986, 310 stresses the flexibility of such concepts. According to Clark 2007 these ‘concepts’ were not abstracts, but divine qualities. On *libertas* she concludes: “Once *Libertas* was worshipped, for example, any reference to *Libertas*, however mundane, was theological, in the strict sense of the word. The social, political, and cultural meanings of *Libertas* were likewise always part—through not all—of the significance of the deity” (18).

⁶ According to Weinstock 1971, 399 Octavian only called himself *Divi filius* after Brundisium (Sept. 40 BC), but surely it was important earlier. On the deification of Caesar, see Dio 47.18.4; Weinstock 1971, 370–410; Hekster and Rich 2006, 156, n. 32 with further bibliography. The divine Caesar was also used by Antonius. See Weinstock 1971, 378. Kienast 2001 rightly criticises Syme (1939, 317–318; 1958b, 432–34) for the conclusion that Octavian early on distanced himself from Caesar.

⁷ Ramage 1987, 19. According to Mommsen 1887a, V the RG must be divided into three sections; *honores* (1–14), *impensae* (15–24) and *res gestae* proper (25 to the end). Hardy 1923, 14–18 stresses RG 1–3 as the introduction. Weber 1936, 150 makes chapters 1–2 stand out, together with 34–35 (217–224); Gagé 1950, 13–16 on the triple division of the RG (RG 34–35 as conclusion).

At the age of nineteen on my own responsibility and at my own expense I raised an army, with which I successfully championed the liberty of the republic when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. On that account the senate passed decrees in my honour enrolling me in its order in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, assigning me the right to give my opinion among the consulars and giving me *imperium*. It ordered me as a *propraetor* to provide in concert with the consuls that the republic should come to no harm. In the same year, when both consuls had fallen in battle, the people appointed me consul and triumvir for the organization of the republic (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

The chapter reveals a fascinating tripartition:⁸ what Augustus did, what the Senate did and what the people did. First the tyranny of a faction turns a *coup d'état* into something legitimate. Ridley comments on this in a chapter called "Lies", but in fact Augustus does explain that he was a *privatus* who raised an army, and then goes on to give his view of why this was an acceptable action.⁹ In the ideology of the regime, legal or not, he did what he did to save the *res publica*.

There is a debate amongst scholars whether Octavian/Augustus 'copied' Caesar or Cicero in especially RG 1, but perhaps this is after all not that important. Octavian used labels familiar to a Roman readership, how else would he have explained his actions? There was no alternative set of notions Octavian could have used and thus he used '*res publica*', however he chose to define it. What was important for Octavian was that Antonius had oppressed the *res publica* through the tyranny of a faction and thus it had to be liberated.¹⁰ Of course the 'betrayal' of *libertas* is used as a description of the losing faction.¹¹ Pompeius and Caesar had done the same (Syme 1939, 155), as Sulla before them (App. B.C. 1.57).¹² Augustus does not mention a magistrate in RG 1.1;

⁸ Yavetz 1984, 14–15, argues that we ought not to rigorously accept the tripartite division.

⁹ For the illegality and a very negative approach, revealing Augustus and his lies, see Syme 1939, 155; Brunt and Moore 1967, 38; Bleicken 1998, 509–510. This is one of two main possibilities in addressing RG 1.1. Sumi 2005, 161 on the more positive approach, suggesting that Augustus rightly viewed this event as the commencement of his political career.

¹⁰ A *factio* is a group of political partisans. In Late Republican Rome this was associated with oligarchy. See Sall. *Jug.* 31.15; Caesar *Bell. Civ.* 1.22.5; *Bell. Gal.* 6.11.2; Cic. *Brut.* 44.146; *Att.* 7.9.4; *De Re Publica* 1.44. On *factio*, see Seager 1972. The republican sources ever only speak of one *factio* at the time. The word is used to describe your enemies.

¹¹ Dio 41.57.1–2 on Pompeius and Caesar calling each other tyrant and themselves liberators. See Weinstock 1971, 139.

¹² The question is if Octavian 'copied' from Cic. *Phil.* 3.5 and *De Re Publica* 2.46 or

he presented *his* case and it was for others to judge. This is certainly one point of politics: to persuade and convince.

Next the Senate voted Octavian *imperium* and ordered him as a propraeor to make sure the *res publica* would come to no harm (RG 1.2–3). Cicero was right in stressing that the weakness of the Liberators was that they had no men under arms and no money, whereas Octavian had both (Att. 14.4.2).¹³ The main justification in 44–43 BC was that Antonius started the war against Decimus Brutus at Mutina. This is only indirectly mentioned in RG 1.1, but this is most likely the idea behind mentioning the tyranny of a faction.

At Mutina the civil unrest turned into civil war proper. Antonius wanted to exchange Macedonia with Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and even keep the Macedonian legions and thus brought armed men on the appointment day (Cic. Phil. 1.2.6; 2.42.108; Att. 14.14.4; App. B.C. 3.30.118).¹⁴ This caused problems as Decimus Brutus had been given this assignment already (*Cisalpina*).¹⁵ On 9th October Antonius went to Brundisium to pick up the Macedonian legions (Cic. ad Fam. 12.23.2; App. B.C. 3.40), but Octavian seems to have acted quickly and one of the Martian legions and the 4th Legion decided to join Octavian (App. B.C. 3.45–46; Plut. Br. 23.1). At that point Octavian was also raising an army of Caesar's veterans as mentioned so conspicuously in RG 1.1.¹⁶ In his own words Octavian's early movements were a counterbal-

Caesar *Bell. Civ.* 1.22.5. See also Vell. 2.61.1; Suet. *Aug.* 26. According to Taylor 1949, 9–10 Cicero defines *factio* in *De Re Publica* 3.23 as an oligarchy. Caesar used the word against his enemies in the Senate, stressing oligarchy by combining the word with *dominatio* and the genitive *paucorum*. Similar Weber 1936, 141. Favouring Cicero, see Walser 1955, 354–356; Bellen 1985, 163; Eder 1990, 91; Kienast 1999, 33, n. 125. But importantly, to use words of Cicero does not mean Octavian learned politics from Cicero, as pointed out by Chilver 1950, 421. Welwei 1973 stresses the saving of the *res publica* (30). But this was freedom from Antonius more than a question of 'Staatsrecht'. Wirszubski 1968, 100–123, esp. 103 with a list of the examples of the ancient use of the phrase used in RG 1.1 (*libertas* and *factio*). See also Brunt 1988, 281–350, esp. 291–292. On the vast scholarship on *libertas* and the RG, see Ramage 1987, 66–68.

¹³ According to App. B.C. 1.60 all changed with Sulla and the sack of Rome. See also Plut. *Sull.* 12.9–14; App. *Mithr.* 22.84. Thus the Macedonian legions changed sides partly because of money. Even the murderers of Caesar had to pay (App. B.C. 2.120). According to Alföldi 1976, 103–104 the price of loyalty could not go down and payments were necessary, not voluntarily. See also Osgood 2006, 44–45.

¹⁴ Rice Holmes 1928, 15–16, 192–96. On the illegality, see Livy *Per.* 117; Osgood 2006, 40.

¹⁵ Kienast 1999, 23–24.

¹⁶ Rice Holmes 1928, 33; Brunt and Moore 1967, 38; Kienast 1999, 30. Syme 1939, 162 does not mention RG 1.1, but the result is the same; Octavian had no standing before the law.

ance to the wrongs of Antonius (RG 1.1: *rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam*). In fact Octavian raised his private army in October–November 44 BC, whereas the decrees of RG 1.2 which made it legitimate followed in early January 43 BC, with Octavian assuming *imperium* on 7th January (EJ, p. 44).¹⁷

The initial battle of *Forum Gallorum* took place on 14th April (Cic. *ad Fam.* 10.30). Seven days later, the second battle of Mutina was fought and the city was relieved by the consuls and Octavian, whilst Antonius made for *Gallia Narbonensis* on 22nd April.¹⁸ As a result Decimus was decreed a triumph, even though this was a civil war.¹⁹ Both Consuls of the year (Hirtius and Pansa) died at Mutina, Pansa on 23rd April.²⁰ What followed was a summer of tensions, as the Senate addressed the soldiers of Octavian without consulting him first (Vell. 2.62.5; Dio 46.41.2). In August Octavian marched on Rome and demanded the consulship (RG 1.4), though not eligible. He was chosen consul on 19th August. Force won the day; the Senate tried to regain the support of the soldiers and failed.²¹

One of the first deeds of the new consul was the *Lex Pedia*, the law against the murderers of Caesar (Vell. 2.69; Livy *Per.* 120; Suet. *Aug.* 10, App. *B.C.* 3.95), which was passed in the period between Octavian's and Peditus' taking up the consulship on 19th August 43 BC (EJ, p. 33, 50) and the appointment of the triumvirs in November. RG 2 reads:

Qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.

I drove into exile the murderers of my father, avenging their crime through tribunals established by law; and afterwards, when they made

¹⁷ See Brunt and Moore 1967, 38–39.

¹⁸ See Syme 1939, 174; Osgood 2006, 56.

¹⁹ Cic. *Brut.* 1.15.9 shows that Cicero proposed an ovation for Octavian; the proposal had earlier been mentioned by Brutus himself (Cic. *Brut.* 1.16.2, speaking of it as a triumph—ovations were often so described). However, the other sources show that this proposal cannot have led to a senatorial decree to that effect, since all agree that there was no honorific mention of Octavian (Livy *Per.* 119; Vell. 2.62.4–5; App. *B.C.* 3.74; Dio 46.40). Appian speaks later of Octavian unsuccessfully asking for a triumph (*B.C.* 3.80, 82, 89). A triumph was certainly decreed for Decimus Brutus, but he never celebrated it, since he did not return to Rome.

²⁰ There were rumours that Octavian was behind the killing of the consuls. See Suet. *Aug.* 9; Dio 46.39.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.1. This is not supported by App. *B.C.* 3.71; Vell. 2.61.4 and there is nothing in Cicero either.

²¹ Suet. *Aug.* 26.1; App. *B.C.* 3.88; Dio 46.41.3; 46.42.4; 46.43.1.3–4. Rice Holmes 1928, 34–66; Kienast 1999, 36–37; Sumi 2005, 178–179.

war on the republic, I twice defeated them in battle (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

The chapter thus comprises events that happened before and after the establishment of the triumvirate.²² Importantly, by passing this law Octavian established the agenda of punishing those whom the judicial process declared to be outlaws, in this case the murderers of Caesar. Next Octavian came to terms with Antonius, through the mediation of Lepidus, and formed the triumvirate (RG 1.4).²³ Octavian's change of sides is passed over in silence in the RG, which speaks only of honours, first by the Senate and then by the people.

1.2. *The triumviral assignment*

At a meeting near Bononia at the end of October 43 BC, Antonius, Lepidus and Octavian joined forces and agreed to cooperate. Their collaboration was later given legal force by a plebiscite, the *Lex Titia*, carried through the assembly by the tribune P. Titius on 27th November: the three men were now *tresviri rei publicae constituendae* for a period of five years. Coins and inscriptions confirm the title.²⁴ Since it had been confirmed by plebiscite, the formulation of RG 1 is correct: it was the people, not the Senate or Octavian who took the decision, at least in the inner logic of the inscription and the triumvirate. In reality the Roman people did not have a choice.

The title of the extraordinary magistracy of the triumvirate is at the same time a justification; the title *r.p.c.* implied that there was a job to be

²² Hardy 1923, 31.

²³ See also Vell. 2.65.1 stressing the common enemies of Antonius and Octavian, but also that Antonius threatened to join forces with Brutus and Cassius. Plut. *Brut.* 27.1 suggests the Senate's favour of Brutus and Cassius. See also App. *B.C.* 3.80; 3.96.

²⁴ Bononia: Livy *Per.* 120; Dio 46.55.3; App. *B.C.* 4.2; *RRC* 492/1 (M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C, showing Antonius and reverse: C CAESAR III VIR R P C, showing Octavian); *RRC* 492/2 (M LEPIDUS III VIR R P C); *RRC* 493/1 (C CAESAR IMP III VIR R P C PONT AV, showing Octavian. Reverse: M ANTONIVS IMP II VIR R P C AVG, showing Antonius). *Lex Titia*: RG 1.4; Fasti Colotiani, see EJ, p. 32; Dio 47.2.2; App. *B.C.* 4.7. In Latin sources often *triumviratus*, but not in official Latin documents. See Vell. 2.86.2; Livy *Per.* 129; Tac. *Ann.* 3.28.2; Flor. 2.16.6; Suet. *Aug.* 27.1. On the use of the title, see Bleicken 1990, 11–12. For Greek texts, see Reynolds 1982, Doc. 6, 5–8. See Bleicken 1990, 12. Regarding the plebiscite, see Hardy 1923, 30; Brunt and Moore 1967, 39–40. Coins with the legend III VIR R P C, see *RRC* 489–490; 492–497; 516–518; 520–523; 525; 527–529; 531; 533–534; 536–542; 544–545 (See Crawford 1974 (*RRC*), 739–744).

done—*rem publicam constituere*. The triumvirs' task was to 'constitute' the *res publica*, to set the state to rights.²⁵

In the edict on the proscriptions in Appian (*B.C.* 4.10) the triumvirs mention Sulla as their model (App. *B.C.* 1.97 on Sulla's proscriptions). Caesar was perhaps *dictator rei publicae constituendae*, but the only evidence is a fragmentary inscription from Taranto. A similar title had previously been used by Sulla (*Lex Valeria*, see Cic. *De Leg. Agr.* 3.2.5). Appian seems to stress a title similar to the triumvirs (*B.C.* 1.99: *rei publicae constituendae*), although Sulla's position was not for five years (App. *B.C.* 1.98–99).²⁶ Given the evidence it is likely that the triumvirs used Sulla as a model; they used the formula *rei publicae constituendae* and thus described the assignment, whereas Caesar it seems as *dictator perpetuus* did not have any limitations at all.²⁷ But limitations or not, it is vital to remember that the period of the triumvirate was profoundly marked by violence, illegality and arbitrary exercise of power.²⁸ There is a difference between the formal vote, the *Lex Titia*, and "Realpolitik". Syme thus famously described the triumvirate as a dictatorship of three in essence but not name.²⁹ As a balancing observation it is nonetheless important to understand the justifications which were presented for the triumvirate, since these helped to shape the triumvirs' subsequent actions. The reason behind this formulation *r.p.c.* was with all probability that the triumvirs were trying to avoid the title of dictator (App. *B.C.* 4.2; Dio 46.55.3).³⁰

²⁵ See Fadinger 1969, 31–56; Bleicken 1990, 21–65; Eder 1990, 92–97; Kienast 1999, 37–38.

²⁶ See Fadinger 1969, 32–33, 50. Keaveney 2007 tries hard but unconvincingly to stress that Sulla and the triumvirs had little in common. On the question of how far Sulla served as a model for the original conception of the triumvirate see Vervaeke 2004, esp. 58, suggesting that the re-establishing of the Roman Republic in a firm basis was part of the *Lex Valeria* and that Sulla did not need to lay down his dictatorship before having done so.

²⁷ On Caesar and the inscription from Taranto, see Badian 1990, 34–35. Meier in the third edition of *Caesar* takes this into account and accepts it (1993, 592). See also Kienast 1999, 37, n. 142 with scholarship. Against this, see Bringmann 1988, 25. For Caesar's appointment as dictator for life, see Cic. *Phil.* 2.86; Flor. 1.13.91; Dio 44.8.4.

²⁸ See Millar 1973, 50, 50–61.

²⁹ Syme 1939, 188. So already Mommsen 1992, 72. See also Pelling 1996, 1; Osgood 2006, 60. There seems to be a tendency in English scholarship to ignore what the assignment of the triumvirs was.

³⁰ See also Cic. *Phil.* 1.3f; 1.32; 2.91; 3.30; 5.10; App. *B.C.* 3.25.37; Dio 44.51.2; 45.24.2; 45.32.2; 46.24.2; 47.15.4.

Appian, trying to define the triumvirate, stresses that three men were in possession of “the whole government of the Romans” (*B.C.* 5.1: ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα where ἀρχή means rule, power, government). At the outset it seems that all the powers in the state might equal the *potens rerum omnium* of *RG* 34.1; the powers given back in 27 BC. Appian’s account of the establishment of the triumvirate gives us our fullest statement of the nature of the powers it conferred (*B.C.* 4.2.7; *Dio* 46.55.3–4 is less precise). He states that the triumvirs had power equal to the consuls, and in addition they received the right to appoint the magistrates in advance and the provinces were divided between them (4.2.7).³¹ The allocation of provinces must be seen as part of the constituting of the state; the triumvirs were splitting the Roman Empire between them.³²

There is no doubt that Titius when proposing the law surely must have given an explanation of why such an office was necessary. So we need to ask: what was it claimed would be involved in ‘constituting’ the

³¹ Fadinger 1969, 55–56 stresses “schrankslosen Macht”, Kineast 1997, 305 stresses powers equal to a dictator. Bleicken 1990, 21–65 on the other hand stresses that there were limits to their formal powers. Rich 1992 rightly points out (as Syme 1939) that they did not always stay within these formal powers. In the end what mattered was military power (112–113). According to Girardet 1990a, 326–332; 1990b, 95–100; 2000, 181 the *imperium* of the triumvirs most likely was an *imperium consulare* valid both *domi* and *militiae*, not a proconsular *imperium*.

³² At Bononia Octavian received both Africa’s, Sardinia, Sicily and other islands in the proximity (*Dio* 46.55.4–5; 56.1; *App. B.C.* 4.2 only mentions Africa, but *B.C.* 4.53 mentions both. See also *Suet. Aug.* 27.1), Lepidus received Spain and *Gallia Narbonensis*, and Antonius the rest of Gaul. Because of problems with Sextus Pompeius Octavian clearly received the least interesting part of the deal. See Fadinger 1969, 39; Kienast 1999, 38. The East was still under the rule of the murderers of Caesar. After Philippi 42 BC Antonius received *Gallia Comata*, *Cisalpinga* was to become autonomous, and Africa, plus he was to bring peace to the East. Octavian received Spain, Numidian Africa, whereas Sardinia and Sicily was under the rule of Sextus Pompeius. Italy was controlled by all three men (*App. B.C.* 5.3; *Dio* 48.1.2ff; *Livy Per.* 125; *Flor.* 2.16.1). Lepidus, who had not taken part at Philippi, might get part of Africa. This seems to have happened in 40 BC (*App. B.C.* 5.12; *Dio* 48.20.4; 23.5. See Kienast 1999, 42. Antonius still received most, and Octavian was to settle the veterans in Italy (*Suet. Aug.* 13.3; *Vell.* 2.74), which was never going to be easy. In 40 BC Q. Fufius Calenus, Antonius’ governor in Gaul died and Octavian took advantage of the situation and took over the province (*App. B.C.* 5.51; *Dio* 48.20.3). At Brundisium the Empire was more or less divided in East and West, with Octavian promising to fight Sextus Pompeius and Antonius the Parthians. At Misenum Sardinia, Sicily and Corsica was accepted as belonging to Sextus Pompeius (*Livy Per.* 127; *Vell.* 2.77.1–2; *Plut. Ant.* 32.1; *App. B.C.* 5.72; *Dio* 48.36). After the victory over Sextus at Naulochus Lepidus was derived of his triumphal powers and only two triumvirs were left (*Vell.* 2.80; *App. B.C.* 5.122–126; *Dio* 49.11.2).

res publica, and what justification did Titius give? These tasks would comprise the triumviral assignment. Our sources give little direct indication of how we should answer that question, but three passages in Appian assist. In the first passage Appian writes (B.C. 4.2):

καινήν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἥν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἵσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις.

...that a new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions (civil war) should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian should hold for five years with consular power (trans. White 1913).³³

The civil war mentioned is that against the murderers of Caesar, as it is the only civil war during this period. Furthermore, Appian cites a Greek translation of the proscription edict (B.C. 4.8–11). The beginning of the edict reads:

Μάρκος Λέπιδος, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάουιος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἀρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινά, οὕτως λέγουσιν·...νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλευμέθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσευτον ὀρῶντες τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ παθεῖν αἰρούμεθα.

Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that...Now, seeing that the malice of those who have conspired against us and by whose hands Gaius Caesar suffered, cannot be mollified by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands (trans. White 1913).

The authenticity of this edict is disputed, but most scholars accept it as genuine, even though the full text is not necessarily given.³⁴ Caesar's

³³ For revenge as something positive in Augustan times, see Stahl 1990, 202–203.

³⁴ See Gowing 1992, 251–252 and n. 12. This is supported by Osgood 2006, 63–64, with scholarship in n. 11. The name “Octavius Caesar” is certainly a surprise, but according to Osgood 2006, 64, n. 10 this may be a later insertion into the original text. Appian refutes all the pledges in the edict in the surrounding narrative, which is taken by Gowing as a sign that it is genuine (Gowing 1992, 251). See also Bleicken 1990, 46; Henderson 1998, 17; Kienast 1999, 41. On the proscriptions, see Syme 1939, 187–201; Gowing 1992, 247–269; Henderson 1998, 11–3; Kienast 1999, 39–41. Osgood 2006, 108 stresses the *lex Titia* as legal basis for the proscriptions. Against this idea, see Bringmann 1988, 31. See Vell. 2.66.1 with the Augustan view blaming Antonius and Lepidus for the proscriptions. Reynolds 1982, no. 9, line 12 and no. 8, line 80 may point to the triumvirs being conceived as promagistrates not magistrates, and thus contradictory to App. B.C. 4.2.7. But as pointed out by Rich 1992, 113 it cannot be certain that their powers in respect to the provinces were proconsular, as indeed

clementia had led to his death, and so the triumvirs claim to be justified in departing from his policy. The proscriptions are presented as a necessary response to the actions of Caesar's assassins and those who, instead of punishing them, had sent them out as office-holders. Importantly, the triumvirs specify an overseas war against Caesar's murderers as their outstanding task (4.9):

ἐν ἔστι λοιπὸν ἔτι ἔργον, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτόχειρας Γαίου.

..., one task still remains, and that is to march against Caesar's assassins beyond the sea (trans. White 1913).

The notion of civil war was an integral part of the proscriptions and the triumvirs clearly had no problems stressing that (4.8). The ending of the civil war was after all the task they had set themselves. In furtherance of that aim, the territories of 18 cities in Italy were set aside for the settlement of the soldiers of the triumvirs after the ending of the civil war (App. *B.C.* 4.3).

A third Appian passage is L. Antonius' capitulation statement from 40 BC (*B.C.* 5.43), ending the Perusine war:

ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντείποις· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνοις οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι.

I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you but to restore to the country the aristocratic government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them (trans. White 1913, adapted).³⁵

some of their legates. Girardet 1995, 147 sums up the German position by calling the triumvirate an 'Ausnahmeamt'. Ramsey 2005, 36, looking at the juridical powers of the triumvirs in Rome, points out that a third of all jurors in criminal trials were loyal Caesarians, the triumvirs did not need to exercise routine juridical powers in Rome. See also Rich 1992, 113 suggesting they might be too busy. Against this Millar 1973, 59–61. According to Bringmann 1988, 35 all *acta* of the triumvirs needed ratification, but Reynolds 1982, no. 8 shows that also the future *acta* of the triumvirs were ratified. See Bleicken 1990, 27–28. Val.Max. 6.2.12 stresses that the powers of the triumvirs were *legibus solutus*, but this is not quite in agreement with Dio and Appian.

³⁵ On the speech of L. Antonius, see Vervaeke 2008.

This speech is no doubt fictitious (see below), but explains in Appian's words that the main cause for the creation of the triumvirate was the final destruction of the murderers of Caesar. He goes on to clarify that after Philippi there was no grounds to uphold the triumvirate, as the assignment had already been carried out: Cassius and Brutus had been killed, the civil war was at an end and thus it was time to 'constitute' the state. L. Antonius thus demanded the powers of the triumvirs be given back to the *SPQR*.

With these pointers from Appian we can now reasonably conjecture that the principal declared components of the triumvirs' mission were: (1) to pursue and punish the remaining assassins of Caesar (2) by so doing, to end the civil wars (3) and having accomplished these aims, to restore ordered government. As already stated, these were probably publicly announced, e.g. at the promulgation of the *Lex Titia*.

Interestingly, there is in fact a match between the triumviral assignment and the justifications for Octavian's conduct in his rise to power, which are offered by those favourable to him, and were probably included in his own Autobiography and other statements by him, namely that he acted out of *pietas* to his father and the emergency needs of the state.

Thus the justification chimes with the motivations ascribed for Octavian's entry into public life and resort to civil war in the account of Tacitus, *Annales* 1.9.3:

pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae...ad arma civilia actum.

filial duty and the needs of a country...had driven him to the weapons of civil strife (trans. Moore and Jackson 1931).

These justifications do clearly not just apply to the triumviral period, but to the whole period of Octavian's early career from the death of Caesar on—thus at Tacitus *Annales* 1.10.1 he mentions the pretexts at the start, but does not reach the triumvirate till the end of 1.10.2. Tacitus in the *Annales* 1.9.5 writes:

Non regno tamen neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem publicam.

Yet he organized the state, not by instituting a monarchy or a dictatorship, but by creating the title of First Citizen (trans. Moore and Jackson 1931).

This does point forward and backward, forward from the settlement of 28–27 BC and back to the triumviral assignment; the assignment was to

‘constitute’ the *res publica* and end the civil wars. In *Ann.* 1.10 Tacitus then describes the same events, but takes the negative approach—the desire for rule was vital: his opponents retort from the start that the justifications were *obtentui sumpta* and he really acted *cupidine domnandi* (1.10.1). *Ann.* 1.9 was propaganda and the proscriptions, Cassius and Brutus, Sextus Pompeius and even Lepidus and Antonius lost out to Octavian, who had used the filial duty and crises of the state merely as a cloak, to gain power. As to what Tacitus himself thinks, he carefully abstains from endorsing either of the rival views, but his sympathies are clearly more with the hostile line.³⁶

Dio makes Octavian claim the same motivation in the (fictitious) resignation speech which he composed for him for 27 BC (53.4.3–4; see also 56.36.2; 37.1ff; 44.1):

ἀλλὰ ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη... ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθῃτε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὄντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλλήλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἠθέλησα.

I lay down all my power and return to you absolutely everything, the armies, the laws and the provinces... so that you may learn from my actions themselves that I did not set out from the start to win a position of power, but genuinely wanted to avenge my father, who had been foully murdered, and to rescue the city from the great troubles that assailed it one after another (trans. Rich 1990, adapted).

The opposition and the *clementia* of Octavian are also mentioned (53.4.1), as is the threat of Antonius and Cleopatra and Sextus Pompeius. This is most likely a description of the triumviral assignment. The speech of Octavian is about setting things to right after the period of civil war.

The Caesarian view on the murder of Caesar is also nicely illustrated by Velleius: Caesar would rather die than live in fear and his *clementia* was betrayed by those who killed him (2.57.1–2). As mentioned, *pietas* became part of the triumvirate, as it united the three men. The battle of Philippi is later described by Ovid in his *Fasti* (3.709–710):

³⁶ Syme 1958b, 272 sums up on *Ann.* 1.9–1.10: “He sets forth what men of judgement had to say about the whole life and career of Caesar Augustus. The necrological commentary falls sharply into two parts, for and against. Eulogy is the shorter portion”.

*hoc opus, haec pietas, haec prima elementa fuerunt
Caesaris, ulcisci iusta per arma patrem.*

This, this was Caesar's work, his duty, his first task by righteous arms to avenge his father (trans. Frazer 1931).³⁷

The hypothesis that the tasks of the triumvirs, as part of the ending of the civil war, also dealt with avenging Caesar may also be supported by the *RG*. The triumviral assignment is mentioned in the last line of chapter 1. In *RG* 2 Philippi is an expression of filial *pietas* of Octavian, but at the same time part of the justification of the triumvirate, as the murderers of Caesar made war on the *res publica*.³⁸ The assignment of the triumvirate was thus partly accomplished with the battle of Philippi in 43 BC. Setting the *res publica* to right of course meant defending the state, ending the civil war by defeating the enemies of Rome.

According to Appian the triumvirs decided that Octavian and Antonius were to make war on the murderers of Caesar (*B.C.* 4.3). There was no *clementia* for the murderers of Caesar, even though tyrannicide was not a crime at Rome.³⁹

RG 3.1 constitutes in many ways a small conclusion of the inscription right at the outset. It reads:

*Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe
gessi,...*

I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world,... (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

This is a general statement and thus not just on Philippi, but Philippi was a civil war, as was Actium. So far the *RG* does seem to reveal itself as Augustus' 'commentaries' on the civil wars. The fact that Octavian had changed sides and was now fighting on Antonius' side (*RG* 1.4),

³⁷ See also Cic. *Phil.* 13.20.46; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.1.

³⁸ Ridley 2003, 75–76 focuses on the things the chapter does not say, instead on what it does say. This phenomenon was made famous by Syme 1939, 523 stressing that "The record is no less instructive for what it omits than for what it says". Ridley also stresses that the chapter does not explain itself, and this might be true, at least to the modern reader (97). The triumvirate does not get mentioned. In the chapter on 'Lies' he observes that Antonius not Octavian defeated them in battle (167). See also Hardy 1923, 31; Brunt and Moore 1967, 40. This might in principle be true, but he was one of two generals with *imperium* and thus there is nothing wrong, apart from the missing name of Antonius. This was a joint operation, but it is also obvious that Augustus did not want to share his filial *pietas* with anybody.

³⁹ Brunt and Moore 1967, 40.

his enemy at the outset of *RG* 1.1, would have been obvious for the contemporary reader, but this is in principle not about Antonius, but what Octavian/Augustus did for the *res publica*. The triumvirate is only very loosely defined in *RG* 1.4, but in chapter 2 a picture emerges: Caesar is avenged and this constitutes a partial success in the *constitutio rei publicae*, although not enough to end the civil wars (see below and chapter 2, 6 for the second part of this argument).

1.3. *The renewal of the triumvirate*

The triumvirs' first 5-year term was certainly adequate for the initial assignment of the punishment of the assassins and ending of the civil war against them, which was in fact completed well before the term was up. When the triumvirate was established, the three may well not have considered whether they would seek to extend it beyond the initial term (the cynicism of Dio 46.55.3 reflects merely his own habitual assumption that all the protagonists from the late Republic on were aiming at autocracy).⁴⁰ However, once the war against Brutus and Cassius was over and as the five years came to an end, the issue of renewal inevitably came into question.

After their victory at Philippi, Antonius and Octavian redistributed some provinces with the effect of confining Lepidus in Africa, and distributed the duties of settlement between them. Suetonius writes (*Aug.* 13.3):⁴¹

Partitis post victoriam officiis cum Antonius Orientem ordinandum, ipse veteranos in Italiam reducendos et municipalibus agris colloncandos recepisset, neque veteranorum neque possessorum gratiam tenuit, alteris pelli se, alteris non pro spe meritorum tractari querentibus.

When the duties of administration were divided after the victory, Antony undertaking to restore order in the East, and Augustus to lead the veterans back to Italy and assign them lands in the municipalities, he could neither satisfy the veterans nor the landowners, since the latter complained that they were driven from their homes, and the former that they were not being treated as their services had led them to hope (trans. Rolfe 1951).

⁴⁰ Vervaeke 2008 uses Dio 46.55.3 to suggest that the triumvirs intended to stay in power after 38 BC.

⁴¹ See also App. *B.C.* 5.3, Dio 48.1.

Antonius had the relatively straightforward task of settling the East, whereas Octavian was to return to Italy with much more challenging assignments: the settling of the veterans, and a renewed civil war, this time against Sextus Pompeius.⁴²

Antonius' brother Lucius, consul in 41 BC, assisted by Antonius' wife Fulvia, challenged Octavian's actions, and this led to war, ending with the siege and fall of Perusia in early 40 BC. The issues in the Perusine War were complex, as, no doubt, were Lucius Antonius' motivations. There is however no reason to doubt Appian's basic assertions that he claimed to be acting as a republican and seeking to end the triumvirate, although there is nothing of this in the remaining ancient evidence.

Thus Appian at the beginning of his narrative says that Lucius "was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointment time" (*B.C.* 5.19: ὄντι δημοτικῶ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένη). It was clearly in response to such concerns that the agreement arranged by mediating officers at Teanum included a provision that "the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of their fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs" (*B.C.* 5.20: τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοκεῖν μὴ κωλυομένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν). At the outbreak of hostilities, at a *contio* in Rome, Lucius declared that "he should visit punishment upon Octavian and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers" (*B.C.* 5.30: Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἐκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς). When his cause was lost and he was preparing for surrender, Lucius told his troops that he had sought to restore the ancestral constitution and end the despotism of the triumvirate, and had asked that "after the rewards of victory had been distributed, the monarchy should be dissolved" (*B.C.* 5.39: τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν). The issue of how the triumvirate could be justified once Brutus and Cassius had been dealt with is raised explicitly in the speech which Appian claims

⁴² On the veteran settlements after Philippi, see Fadinger 1969, 42–43; Kienast 1999, 43. On the number of veterans, see Brunt 1971, 488–498 (50,000). On the impact of the settlements, see Osgood 2006, 108–151.

Lucius made at his subsequent interview with Octavian and for which he claims the authority of the *Hypomnemata*, perhaps to be identified as Augustus' *Autobiography* (B.C. 5.43. See also 4.110):

ἐγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἡράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντείοις· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνοις οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἱ τὸ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμούντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦσαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἤξιουν.

I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you but to restore to the country the aristocratic government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the custom of our fathers.⁴³

In the end the soldiers and L. Antonius were spared as a symbol of *clementia* (RG 3.1, also referring to Philippi and Actium).⁴⁴ The Perusine War is not mentioned in the *Res Gestae*, but not much between Philippi and Actium is, although Naulochus is not forgotten (RG 25.1).⁴⁵

Antonius had not supported his brother, but when he arrived at Brundisium during the summer 40 BC, tensions between him and

⁴³ All translations from White 1913. Regarding the controversy of the identification of the *Hypomnemata*, see Gowing 1992, 321–322. L. Antonius' republicanism is rightly taken seriously by Roddaz 1988. See also Gabba 1971; Pelling 1996, 14–15, Vervaeke 2008.

⁴⁴ Livy *Per.* 126; Vell. 2.74.4; Suet. *Aug.* 15.1–3.6. According to App. B.C. 5.48–94 most Romans and even Perusians were spared, whereas Dio 48.14.3–6 reports that most Perusians and three hundred Roman knights and senators were murdered on the altar of the deified Caesar. See also Sen. *De Clem.* 1.11.1; Suet. *Aug.* 15. See Syme 1939, 212; Osgood 2006, 172. According to Gradel 2002b, 235 human sacrifices are incompatible with Roman religiosity. This does not disprove the claims made against Octavian, but it might just be propaganda.

⁴⁵ Perusia missing from the RG, see Syme 1939, 523; Ridley 2003, 76; Osgood 2006, 182. To none of them is seems important why Perusia was perhaps not mentioned. There is a lot of civil war in RG 1–3, so that can hardly be the answer.

Octavian mounted and for a time it seemed that they might come to blows, when the legions of Octavian did not admit the ships of Antonius to the harbour. In the end the soldiers did not want to fight each other and the result was the treaty of Brundisium. The agreement was cemented by Antonius' marriage to Octavian's sister Octavia. This might be seen as an indication of the problems to come, but at the time the reconciliation must have been more important and the marriage between Octavia and Antonius was the cornerstone in the relationship between the triumvirs in the period to come.⁴⁶ This agreement included a new division of the provinces, in effect recognizing what had already emerged on the ground: Lepidus kept Africa, Antonius retained the eastern provinces and Octavian the western, with Scodra in Illyria as the dividing-point (App. *B.C.* 5.65; Dio 48.28.4).

As Appian tells us the Brundisium treaty also specified tasks for each of the leading triumvirs (*B.C.* 5.65):

πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μὴ τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως.

Octavian was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some arrangement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus (trans. White 1913).

These tasks, agreed at Brundisium in 40 BC, most likely provided the justification for the extension of 37 BC, as more time was now clearly needed to complete the additional tasks. This was thus part of the extended assignment, of the *constitutio rei publicae*. These extended tasks were conceived as the ending of the civil war and the Parthian war, as is supplied by Octavian's statement promising to lay down power after Naulochus (App. *B.C.* 5.132). These problems could not possibly have been foreseen when the triumvirate was initiated, but were now used as justification to prolong the triumvirate.

Thus the agreement addressed the issue which Lucius Antonius had posed, namely how the continuance of the triumvirate could be justified once Brutus and Cassius had been eliminated and the veterans settled. The triumviral assignment had been revised and extended: Octavian again had what might have seemed the less rewarding role, resolving another civil conflict, while Antonius was to take on a glamorous foreign

⁴⁶ See Pelling 1996, 17–18; Rice Holmes 1928, 103–104. For the reconciliation, see Livy *Per.* 127; Vell. 2.76.3; 78.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10; Suet. *Nero.* 3.1; App. *B.C.* 5.60–4; Dio 48.28.3; 31.3.

war, the campaign against the Parthians which Caesar had projected but not lived to conduct. Although this may not yet have been made explicit, this extension of the assignment carried the clear implication that an additional term would be required, since at least Antonius' allotted task could hardly be completed within the original period.

But not all was well and the impact of Sextus Pompeius in Rome was felt in 40 BC. During games in the circus people applauded a statue of Neptune carried in procession, and performed violence on the statues of Octavian and Antonius (Dio 48.31.5). But the year also saw a change in the relationship between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirs; Octavian married Scribonia, the sister of Sextus Pompeius' father-in-law L. Scribonius Libo.

The possibility of an accommodation with Sextus Pompeius was thus clearly being considered at this time. The provision that Octavian should make war against Sextus Pompeius "unless they should come to some arrangement" (εἰ μὴ τι συμβαίνοι) took account of the fact that Antonius had already entered negotiations with him (App. *B.C.* 5.65). In the end Sextus Pompeius' stranglehold on the Roman corn supply obliged Octavian and Antonius to reach an agreement with him in 39 BC, at Misenum. Arrangements made at this time imply that the triumvirate would be extended for a second term. Sextus Pompeius was granted the provinces of Sicily, Sardinia and Achaea for a five-year term (Dio 48.36.5; App. *B.C.* 5.72), but he had to give up mainland Italy and allow grain to Rome, and thus stop the famine. Consuls were designated up to 31 BC, with Octavian and Antonius due to hold the consulship, each for the third time, in that year (App. *B.C.* 5.73; Dio 48.35.1; 36.4; 50.10.1).⁴⁷ However, republican sensibilities were not ignored. It was no doubt announced that, as Appian states, Antonius and Octavian hoped in their third consulships to restore the *politeia* ("to restore the government to the people" (*B.C.* 5.73: ἀποδώσειν τῷ

⁴⁷ This does present a problem: why were Antonius and Octavian designated consuls for 31 BC, not 32 BC? Cf. Pelling 1996, 68, who however discusses the question in terms of 'Realpolitik' rather than how the arrangements were presented to the public. One might have expected them to assume the consulship either in their last triumviral year or in the year immediately following, but there is in fact a one-year gap. Supposing that the second term ended at the end of 32 BC rather than the end of 33 BC makes the problem somewhat less acute, but does not resolve it, since the consulship arrangement was made as early as 39 BC, when they were presumably envisaging that the renewal would be put in place in time for the expiry of the first term, and so to end in 33 BC.

δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν)). The anticipated second triumviral term, it was thus suggested, would be the last: they most likely envisaged that by then they would have accomplished the triumviral assignment and could restore their powers to the people.⁴⁸

By the following year, the entente with Sextus Pompeius had broken down, and he and Octavian were at war.⁴⁹ Octavian divorced Scribonia and married Livia (Vell. 2.79.2; 94.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10; Suet. *Aug.* 62.2; 69.1; Dio 48.34.4; 43.6; 44.1–4). Relations between Octavian and Antonius were now also once again strained, and this may be why the expiry of the first triumviral term on 31st December 38 BC was allowed to pass without any formal steps having been taken to renew the office. The triumvirate, instituted 27th November 43 BC, initially terminated at the end of 38 BC (Fasti Colotiani, Degraffi 1947, 273–4).

This omission remained unresolved until Octavian and Antonius met and reached a new agreement at Tarentum in summer 37 BC. Each undertook to assist the other in their respective wars: Antonius provided Octavian with ships to fight the war against the pirate. Octavian would later provide 20,000 soldiers to Antonius and his campaign against Parthia.⁵⁰ Sextus Pompeius was deprived of his priesthood and designated consulship, and the triumvirate was renewed for a second five-year term (App. *B.C.* 5.95; Plut. *Ant.* 35.4; Dio 48.54.6).

According to some scholars that makes the triumvirate illegal from 1st January 37 BC till Tarentum in September or October of the same year.⁵¹ The renewal of the triumvirate was initially decided on just by

⁴⁸ Wilcken (1925/1969), 42 stressing the restoration. Fadinger 1969, 108 rightly suggests that they might not have planned for a second five-year term in 39 BC. Dio's assertion that the triumvirs designated consuls ahead till 31 BC, past the expiry of their second term, may suggest one of two things: either they were planning or contemplating a third term or they thought about a transitional period before the triumvirate and its powers could be handed back to the Roman state.

⁴⁹ Gowing 1992, 192 rightly stresses the disagreement in the sources. Menodorus defected to Octavian and handed over Sardinia to him (Dio 48.45.6–7; App. *B.C.* 5.80; Suet. *Aug.* 74). Sextus Pompeius was angered by the defection and despatched Menecrates to raid Volturum and Campania (Dio 48.46.1). As a result Octavian thought it legitimate to restart the hostilities. App. *B.C.* 5.77 disagrees with this and stresses that the defection had nothing to do with it and happened later (*B.C.* 5.81). App. *B.C.* 5.77 does not refute that Sextus Pompeius used piracy, but Octavian was not innocent either. See also Pelling 1996, 24.

⁵⁰ Plut. *Ant.* 35; App. *B.C.* 5.95ff; Dio 48.54. Rice Holmes 1928, 112; Kienast 1999, 52–53.

⁵¹ See Kienast 1999, 53. According to Kromayer 1888, 2 the *Lex Titia* was within the law and the problems occurred only when they stayed in power after 38 BC. Pelling 1996, 26 stresses that the triumvirate expired, but they did not resign. He observes

Antonius and Octavian, and Appian in the *Civil Wars* states that they did so “without again asking the people” (App. *B.C.* 5.95: οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες), so it might have been only ever given one official five-year term, after that just continuing because not abdicated. This may be supported by the fact that Antonius did not put ‘ITER’ on their coins after the title, whereas Octavian did.⁵²

However, it is not unlikely that, as Appian himself states in the *Illyrian Wars* (28), the renewal was subsequently ratified by the people.⁵³ The extension was surely retrospective, back to 1st January 37 BC, and confirmation of this may be supplied by the *Fasti Capitolini*, where the triumvirs are listed first for this year, before the consuls.⁵⁴ On the triumvirs’ status until the extension, see below 3.2.

If the law ratifying the renewal of the triumvirate was submitted to the people, its proposer must have offered a justification for the extension. We can readily conjecture what that justification will have been. Additional time, it will have been claimed, was needed to carry out the further tasks which the triumvirs had assigned themselves at Brundisium in 40 BC: the suppression of Sextus Pompeius, and with it the ending of the civil wars, and the conquest of Parthia. The second term should suffice for that, and for the completion of the ‘constituting’ of the *res publica*. At that point, so it will have been declared, the triumvirs would lay down their powers and return full authority to the Senate and people. This way Brundisium constitutes a vital change in the justification of the triumvirate, as the foreign war against Parthia becomes part of the new tasks of the triumvirs. As we shall see below, the assumption of new obligations against external enemies was to serve

that the *decemvirs* did not lay down office when their term expired (*Livy* 3.36.9; 3.38.1; 3.54.5–6). See also Ungern-Sternberg 1986, 80, who stresses that they did not want to relinquish their powers, but used aggression to get what they wanted.

⁵² Mommsen 1887b, 2.1, 718–20 suggests that the triumvirate was not renewed by the people in 37 BC. See also Mommsen 1992, 84, 91. See *RRC* 538, 540 on Octavian: ‘IIIVIR ITER.R.P.C.’; 536, 539, 541–542, 544–545 on the coins. Gray 1975, 21; Eder 1990, 94, hold that it was Octavian who insisted on the popular ratification, on the ground that he refers to his position as renewed on coins but Antonius does not.

⁵³ Wilcken 1925/1969, 44–5 suggest that the Appian passage may not be in contradiction, but just saying that they did not ask the people first.

⁵⁴ Degraasi 1947, 58–9, with Gray 1975, 20. Fragment XXXIId (the only surviving portion of these *fasti* for the triumviral period) lists just the consuls for 36 BC, showing that the inclusion of the triumvirs under 37 BC recorded the renewal of their appointment. For the second term as extending from 1st January 37 BC to 31st December 33 BC see further 2.2.

again as justification for further extensions of emergency powers from 27 BC on, and so in effect for the establishment of monarchy.

1.4. *Sextus Pompeius and the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment*

As already noted the veterans of the triumvirs were settled in Italy in 41–40 BC, and again in 36 BC.⁵⁵ The triumviral assignment, it would seem, was coming to an end after Philippi. But as we saw above (1.3), when the triumvirs extended their assignment at Brundisium in 40 BC and used this as justification for their second five-year term in 37 BC, the new task given to Octavian was to deal with Sextus Pompeius and by doing so to bring to an end the remaining civil war. Octavian accomplished this task in 36 BC.

On 3rd September 36 BC (EJ, p. 51) Octavian with Agrippa as the admiral in chief (App. *B.C.* 5.96; Livy *Per.* 129) attacked Sextus Pompeius and decisively defeated him at Naulochus, a few miles east of Mylae. Agrippa was rewarded with the *corona navalis* for his role.⁵⁶ After the battle Lepidus was ousted and a mutiny quelled. The triumvirate was now reduced to two men. As Appian puts it (*B.C.* 5.1),⁵⁷

ἐγίνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βρούτων ἕτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια, στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἐτέρων, μέχρι Πομπηίου τε Σέξτου, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, λοιπὸς ὧν ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βρούτων ἐπανηρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιήλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντώνιον τε καὶ Καίσαρα.

Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The latter wars were sporadic, till finally Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavian (trans. White 1913).

⁵⁵ Brunt and Moore 1967, 42; Keppie 1984, 126.

⁵⁶ Vell. 2.81.3; Virg. *Aen.* 8.683–4; Dio 49.14.3; Livy *Per.* 129, Sen. *Ben.* 3.32.4. According to Pliny *N.H.* 16.7 Varro was the first to receive this honour.

⁵⁷ Rice Holmes 1928, 117, n. 3; Pelling 1996, 36; Hekster and Rich 2006, 150.

At Artemisium, close to Mylae, there was an old temple to *Artemis Phacelitis* (Dio 49.8.1).⁵⁸ This is most likely shown on a coin with Diana on the obverse and a temple enclosing a military trophy on a naval base; in the pediment stands a *triskeles*, the emblem of Sicily.⁵⁹

Octavian returned to Rome on 13th November, entering the city in *ovatio* (App. *B.C.* 5.130; Dio 49.15–16). This was an appropriate honour after a slave war; the slave wars of 132, 99 and 71 BC all provided the victor with an *ovatio*.⁶⁰ He entered on horseback, not on foot in the traditional manner (EJ 34; *RG* 4.1; Suet. *Aug.* 22).⁶¹ Importantly, as later after Actium and Alexandria, Octavian accepted the honour of declaring the day of the victory (3rd September) *feriae* (EJ, p. 51). He was voted other honours as well: he was given a house paid from public funds (Dio 49.15.5).⁶² Dio 49.15.1–3 mentions an arch and then goes on to state that Octavian declined some of these honours. Appian *B.C.* 5.130 lists the honours but does not mention the arch, mentioned by Dio. Dio may be trusted on the decrees of the Senate, not on the implementations. To identify the arch on *RIC* 1² 267 with Naulochus does seem unlikely.⁶³

The tribunician powers were not given to Octavian for life as stated by Appian (*B.C.* 5.132), but Octavian received the *sacrosanctitas* of the tribune and the right to sit on the tribune's benches (Dio 49.15.5–6).⁶⁴ Appian connects this honour with Octavian's promise to restore powers to the *res publica*. As already mentioned the triumvirs did on different occasions speak of laying down the triumviral powers. According to Palmer, Octavian recognised the unpopularity of the triumvirate and thus wanted to exchange the triumvirate with the powers of the tribune for life. In the end this did not happen because the triumvirs did not

⁵⁸ See Hekster and Rich 2006, 154.

⁵⁹ On Diana, see *RIC* 1² 172–3, 181–3, 194–97, 204. See also Taylor 1931, 131–32; Trillmich 1988, 507–5–8; Hekster and Rich 2006, 154–155. For the date of this coin, see chapter 6. The coin might not be from 36 BC, but close to Actium. Later, in 15–10 BC, coins from Lugdunum celebrated the naval victory of Naulochus with Diana the Huntress and underneath the legend “SICIL”.

⁶⁰ See Mommsen 1992, 78; Sumi 2005, 31; Hekster and Rich 2006, 150.

⁶¹ Palmer 1978, 320; Hekster and Rich 2006, 150.

⁶² See Kienast 1999, 55–56 for an overview of all the honours.

⁶³ Against Naulochus, see Rich 1998, 106. For Naulochus see Gurval 1995, 40–41, 47–64. He focuses on the portraiture of Augustus more than the historical context as Rich.

⁶⁴ See Pelling 1996, 68–69.

resign (App. *B.C.* 5.130).⁶⁵ But the unpopularity of the triumvirate may have less to do with this after all: peace had returned and in the ideology of Octavian the civil wars were ended. He had in fact accomplished the triumviral assignment and thus 'had' to give the powers back to the *res publica*. The promise was to do this after Antonius returned from his Parthian campaign:

...πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε, καὶ τὴν ἐντελὴ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ παραγένειτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κάκεινον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαισμένων.

...(Octavian) allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the country. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning civil strife, and said that he would restore the constitution entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end (App. *B.C.* 5.132) (trans. White 1913).

Octavian was presented with a column in the *Forum Romanum* with prows, a golden statue of himself and an inscription: "Peace, long disrupted by civil discord, he restored on land and sea" (App. *B.C.* 5.130: τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν).⁶⁶ The column made manifest the accomplishment of Octavian's task as a triumvir. In all this Octavian was making it clear that he had performed his part of the bargain and was ready to carry out the promise of returning power when the remainder of the assignment was complete: this was Antonius' task, which he had still not carried out successfully.

The first time the slogan "*pace parva terra marique*" is mentioned in a surviving Latin text is on the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium. But in the ideology of the young triumvir Naulochus, prematurely as later became apparent, was the symbol of the ending of the civil wars (App. *B.C.* 5.130; see also Suet. *Aug.* 16.1).⁶⁷ Dio mentions a symbolic gesture: the soldier who announced the victory at Rome placed

⁶⁵ Palmer 1978, 322–323.

⁶⁶ Trans. Carter 1996. This does of course not mean that the Greek translation is close to the Latin original, but it may indeed have used both 'peace' and 'civil war'. For *pax* and 36 BC, see Weinstock 1960, 44–50.

⁶⁷ See Wallmann 1989, 268–274. According to Dettenhofer 2000, 38 this is at least partly the civil war mentioned in RG 34.1. This cannot be, as the date is wrong.

his sword at the feet of Jupiter because there would be no further use for it (49.15.2). Dio also mentions that after the death of Sextus Pompeius Antonius was given the honour to dine at the temple of *Concordia* with his wife and children (49.18.6), similar to the honour bestowed on Octavian in 36 BC after Naulochus, but in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The temple of Jupiter points to the victory itself, the temple of *Concordia* stresses that this was an internal strife, a civil war.⁶⁸

In *RG* 2 the murderers of Caesar make war on the *res publica* (*bellum inferentis rei publicae*) and are defeated in battle; in *RG* 25.1 the slaves handed back to the masters similarly had made war on the *res publica* (*arma contra rem publicam*). These are the only two instances in the *RG* where the justification of the war is opponents' taking up arms against the *res publica*. The context and the use of *res publica* seem to suggest a civil war, as mentioned in *RG* 3.1 and 34.1. Naulochus thus ended the civil wars, but later they broke out again and thus the final accomplishment of the triumviral task was not Naulochus but Actium.

But in 36 BC the victory over Sextus Pompeius constituted the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment of Octavian—only Antonius was left to finish the Parthian war and then the state could be 'constituted'.

There is another ideological issue of interest here; in the struggle against Sextus Pompeius Octavian played the slaves/pirates card, but still it needed justification. According to the propaganda of the triumvirs Sextus Pompeius did not just use slaves, he was also a pirate. Syme states that "in reality an adventurer, Pompeius could easily be represented as a pirate".⁶⁹ Even though an important historical question it is of lesser importance here, as this is first of all a question of understanding the ideology of Octavian/Augustus. Having said that, the raids on Italy and the blockade of grain to Rome do seem to make Syme's conclusion valid (using Dio 48.46.1), or at least must have seemed far too obvious to Octavian not to use. Appian (*B.C.* 5.77–78; 80) suggests that the claim of piracy is suspicious, but he does in fact mention the raids of Sextus Pompeius on Italy (*B.C.* 5.77). The official ideology of the regime of Octavian/Augustus does seem to have had at least some kind of justification in real actions. No wonder Octavian

⁶⁸ Against this Rosenstein 2007, 232.

⁶⁹ Syme 1939, 228; Osgood 2006, 203. See *RG* 25.1; Hor. *Ep.* 4.17–20; 9.7–10; Vell. 2.73.3; App. *B.C.* 5.541; Flor. 2.18.1–2; Virg. *Aen.* 6.612f; Serv. *Aen.* 6.612.

used the label in the war of words. The 9th *Epode* of Horace sums up the ‘Augustan’ take on the war:

*Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
dux fugit ustis navibus,
minatus urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
servis amicus perfidis?*

That’s what we did, not long ago, when the ships of Neptune’s general were burnt, and he fled, driven from the sea—the man who had threatened to fasten on the city the chains he had removed from the treasonous slaves whom he had befriended (trans. Rudd 2004).⁷⁰

Augustus used the image of Pompeius Magnus in his propaganda, although the adversary of his father.⁷¹ Sextus Pompeius was destroying this idea, but of course it must also be remembered that Pompeius Magnus famously defeated the pirates.⁷² This is indeed ‘*damnatio memoriae*’; Augustus tried to destroy the status and honour of Sextus Pompeius. Looking at RG 25.1, Augustus stressed:

*Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis
et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere millia capta dominis
as supplicium sumendum tradidi.*

I made the sea peaceful and freed it of pirates. In the war I captured about 30,000 slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken up arms against the republic, and I handed them over to their masters for punishment (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).⁷³

As for the question of slaves, there is no doubt that the ideology of Augustus did stress a specific and negative picture of his opponent. Some scholars have stressed that Octavian did what Sextus Pompeius did and used slaves (Dio 48.19.4), as is in fact mentioned in the ancient testimony (Dio 47.17.4; 48.49.1; Suet. *Aug.* 16.1 on the use of slaves in the navy).⁷⁴ There are two points to be made, looking at the ideology of

⁷⁰ Watson 2002, 226–227, comments that Sextus Pompeius is dismissed “by a process of revisionist falsification, as of no military account” (see also 219).

⁷¹ See RG 20.1. Pompeius Magnus was in fact not stressed as a negative figure in the Augustan sources. See Hor. *Odes* 2.7 and Henderson 1998, 154; 2001, 139–140 on the rehabilitation of Pompeius during the reign of Augustus.

⁷² Seager 2002, 40–49.

⁷³ For an overview regarding Sextus Pompeius, pirates and slaves, see Ridley 2003, 183–187.

⁷⁴ Ridley 2003, 183–187 on RG 25 in the chapter ‘Lies’. Welch 2002, 42–43. Powell and Welch 2002 make a positive re-evaluation of Sextus Pompeius. Welch 2002, 54 talks about the perverted (by Octavian) history of Sextus Pompeius. Against Syme and

Octavian: the fact that the triumvirs used slaves does not change the fact that so did Sextus Pompeius. Secondly, the slaves of Sextus Pompeius were fugitives, whereas the slaves of Octavian were not.

The pact of Misenum seems to have given the slaves fighting for Sextus Pompeius their freedom (App. *B.C.* 5.72; Dio 48.36), but as mentioned above Sextus Pompeius does not seem to have kept his side of the deal. Perhaps the slaves were promised their freedom, but there was no need for Octavian to accept this after his victory.⁷⁵ That the triumvirs did not acknowledge their freedom seems a slightly naïve way of criticising Octavian.

Sextus Pompeius 'made a mistake' by having Sicily as his base; this was too good for Octavian not to use, as Sicily was associated with slave rebellion.⁷⁶ Therefore, Augustus mentions for the second time in *RG* 27.3 that he recovered Sicily and Sardinia *occupatas bello servili*. *RG* 25 is the justification of the war, but Augustus also wanted to stress that he recovered Roman land. Lucan (6.422) stresses that Sextus Pompeius was a pirate, unworthy of his father. And even Livy, the alleged Pompeian, represents Sextus Pompeius in the same way as all other Augustan sources (*Per.* 128).

According to Octavian the victory over Sextus Pompeius symbolised the ending of the civil war and thus the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. On an ideological level Sextus Pompeius was dismissed as a pirate who used slaves. What was left was for Antonius to accomplish his assignment and end the war against Parthia. The honours given to Octavian in Rome in 36 BC can be seen as predecessors to the honours after the victories at Actium and Alexandria.

pirates Powell 2002, 118, stressing that the Romans did not think of him as a pirate. It is difficult to see how this necessarily makes him less of a pirate. See also Stone 2002, 135 on the hostile propaganda of Octavian. Gowing 2002, 200 points out that Octavian did stress the negative things, like slaves, pirates and his identification with Neptune. That Neptune, later vital for Octavian at Actium, should count as something negative seems absurd. De Souza 1999, 191 concludes that the piracy theory derives from the propaganda of Octavian, even though piratical methods were used.

⁷⁵ Regarding the promise, see De Souza 1999, 189.

⁷⁶ Bradley 1989, chapters 3–4. Having said that, the *Fasti Triumphales* does not mention this as a slave war (Degrassi 1947, 86–87, 569: *ovans ex Sicilia*). The victories of Aquilius in 99 BC (Degrassi 1947, 562: *ovans de servis ex Sicilia*) and Licinius Crassus 71 BC (Degrassi 1947, 565: *ovans de fugitivis et Spartaco*) are clearly marked out as slave wars.

1.5. *Apollo and Octavian: the origins of a divine relationship*

Another part of the ideological battleground was the struggle over divine supporters; Neptune had his favourite Sextus Pompeius, as did Dionysus Antonius and Apollo Octavian. Their biological fathers were important, but at the same time this was indeed a divine struggle. Apollo was in many ways well suited to the role of divine protector and helper of Octavian, as he was already connected to one of the key elements of the triumvirate, as the bringer of peace.

As Rome had a civil war on its hands all sides focused on peace as a result of their own inevitable victory.⁷⁷ The 4th *Eclogue* by Virgil is a good example of the longing for peace during times of civil war. The year is 40 BC, and a child is expected; a child to bring an end to civil war and bring the golden age back to Rome, the kingship of Apollo, and the *Saturnium regnum* (4.8–10).⁷⁸ According to Servius (*Ecl.* 4.10):

*TUUS IAM REGNAT APOLLO ultimum saeculum ostendit,
quod Sibylla Solis esse memoravit.*

Now rules your Apollo refers to the last age, which the Sibyl said was the age of the Sun (trans. Gurval 1995, 109).⁷⁹

The last age is that of Apollo, the first age that of Saturn, or alternatively and even likely, Apollo will reign in the Saturnian age.⁸⁰ The

⁷⁷ See Wistrand 1980 with scholarship and ancient sources. See also Osgood 2006; DeBrohun 2007, 263 on Livy and the hope of lasting peace. See Weinstock 1971, 394 on the coins of Flaminius Chilo (44–42 BC?) with Caesar and *pax* (*RRC* 480/24).

⁷⁸ For the Golden Age, see Feeney 2007, 108–137. The first surviving text to speak of an actual return to the Golden Age is the 4th *Eclogue* of Virgil (131). Ovid *Met.* 15.857–60 associates Augustus with the Age of Iron (135). This was not a homogeneous ideology (133). The civil war is in fact not mentioned directly in the 4th *Eclogue*, but 4.13f, mentioning guilt, most likely is a comment on the civil war age. The poem is a prophecy and the child seems therefore most likely too be no human individual. Thus the son mentioned in the poem is not likely to have been the daughter of Marcus Antonius and Octavian's sister Octavia, a marriage resulting in the pact of Brundisium. Supporting Brundisium, see Charlesworth and Tarn 1934, 44–45; Clausen 1994, 121. Against this Nisbet 1978, 63, 69. Coleman 1977, 150 stresses that the pact is not mentioned in the text. See Syme 1939, 219–220; Lambrechts 1953, 71; Clausen 1994, 122 regarding the child and the possible candidates. Regarding the Christian idea of Jesus as the divine child in the 4th *Eclogue*, see Norden 1924 and Becker 2003. The eastern idea of Norden has come under a lot of criticism, see Clausen 1994, 128–129; Nisbet 1978, 71.

⁷⁹ Nisbet 1978, 62 stresses that the sun mentioned by Servius does not come from the text of Virgil. Suet. *Aug.* 94.4 mentions a dream of Octavius, Octavian's father, where the sun would rise from Atia's womb.

⁸⁰ Nisbet 1978, 62 on the age of Apollo, which begins with the birth of the child

context is in many ways a traditional Gold-silver-bronze-iron cycle.⁸¹ The poem mentions the consulship of C. Asinius Pollio, a follower of Antonius, as the beginning of the new age.⁸² Animals, living peaceful together, are a symbol of what is to come (4.21–25). But the new age is not entirely secured and there are still wars to come (4.31–36).⁸³ But still, the 4th *Eclogue* is a messianic poem in the broadest sense, a poem that expressed the hope of the contemporaries, the ending of the civil wars and longing for peace.

Traditionally the battle of Naulochus in 36 BC has been connected with Octavian's proclamation to build the Apollo temple next to his house on the Palatine.⁸⁴ Hekster and Rich have shown conclusively that the announcement of the Palatine temple to be built to Apollo in 36 BC is evidence of a special relation between Octavian and Apollo, and they have clarified the nature of the decision.⁸⁵ The relationship may have originated then, with the *haruspices* picking Apollo as the provider of the thunderbolt, the site of the future temple being struck by lightning.⁸⁶ Alternatively, and more probably, the *haruspices* picked Apollo because Octavian had already established the relationship with the god. Importantly, there is no connection between the temple on the Palatine and the battle of Naulochus.⁸⁷

Tracing the relationship between Apollo and Octavian back in time is more problematic and a reconstruction therefore to some extent speculative.⁸⁸ When Caesar delivered the *laudatio* at his aunt's funeral,

and is not distinct from the *Saturnia regna*. Norden 1924, 14–24 on the age of Apollo. Zosimos 2.6.16f, quoting a Sibylline poem of the Augustan age, mentions Apollo as the regent of the new age.

⁸¹ This suggests a Greek context of the poem, as this cycle is found in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 106–201.

⁸² See Syme 1939, 218–220.

⁸³ Coleman 1977, 30 is quite right in stressing that this might come from the Sibylline books, mentioned at the very opening exposition of the poet.

⁸⁴ For the sources on the temple and its artwork see Hekster and Rich 2006, 149, n. 2. The vital sources regarding the reason behind the building of the temple are Dio 49.15.5; Vell. 2.81.3; Suet. *Aug.* 29.3.

⁸⁵ Hekster and Rich 2006, 160. See also Gurval 1995, 91–113.

⁸⁶ On *Apollo Palatinus* and the reasons behind building the temple, see Hekster and Rich 2006, 151–152; 155–160, esp. 157 on lightning taken up as public prodigies. They conclude that the relationship between Apollo and Octavian was a question of luck and indeed religious belief. See Suet. *Aug.* 90 and 92. For the story on the Apollo temple and lightning, see Suet. *Aug.* 29.3.

⁸⁷ Hekster and Rich 2006, 151–152, 165–166.

⁸⁸ Galinsky 1996, 216 rightly stresses that Apollo was less constrained by Roman tradition, but also of course a Greek god. Hekster and Rich 2006, 151–152 on *harus-*

he mentioned Venus (Suet. *Div.Iul.* 6.1), the divine ancestors of the *Iulii*; Livy mentions that the *Iulii* claimed to be descendants of Ascanius, the son of Aeneas.⁸⁹ This is not extraordinary, and similar stories are found for both patrician and plebeian families.⁹⁰ Thus looking at Octavian and Apollo, it needs to be explained why he picked Apollo in the first place.⁹¹ The answer may simply be that his opponents' gods were male gods, perhaps more appropriate in (civil) war. A statue of Apollo in the Palatine temple was in the likeness of Augustus.⁹² This might point to the very personal war of words between Antonius, Octavian and Sextus. Divine imitation became standard during the triumviral period.⁹³

During Sextus Pompeius' early years in Sicily he emphasised that he was the son of Neptune.⁹⁴ Dio states that this was because his father had ruled the sea (48.19.2).⁹⁵ Stage two in the struggle between Sextus

pices. On the likelihood of a connection before 36 BC, see 160–162; 166. See also Taylor 1931, 118–20; Simon 1957, esp. chapter two; Zanker 1983; 1990, chapter two. For a very different conclusion, see Gurval 1995, 91–113, suggesting that Apollo and *Apollo Actius* were not the same and that the early stories on Apollo are later Augustan inventions.

⁸⁹ Livy 1.3.2 and Ogilvie 1965, 42–43. The *Iulii* were an Alban family, and ancestors of Ascanius, founder of Alba, Iulus being another name of Ascanius, all according to family legend.

⁹⁰ Wiseman 1987, 208 and 211. For the enormous interest in Trojan descent during this period, see page 211. Weinstock 1971, 15–18 on Venus as the ancestral god of the *Iulii*. Suet. *Aug.* 1 makes a connection between the *Octavii* and Mars. It might seem strange that Octavian did not pick Mars, but he already had a role as the avenging god, as *Mars Ultor*, and he was the god of the *gens Octavia*, not the *gens Iulia*.

⁹¹ Weinstock 1971, 12–15 clearly overemphasizes the story of the dedication of the *Apollo Medicus* temple by the consul of the year 431 BC Cn. Iulius (Livy 4.25.3; 4.29.7). He was consul of the year; he did not vow the temple. It is a prodigy temple, not a temple build by a victor. One of the ancestral gods of the family was Vediovis (*CIL* I 807). According to Aulus Gellius 5.12.12 a statue of the god in the god's temple on the Capitoline is said to be Apollo because he holds arrows. See Weinstock 1971, 8–13. Against this, see Alföldi 1975, 166. There is also the question of the cognomen Caesar. According to Servius Apollo in his role of god of Medicine had patronage of people born by 'Caesarian' operation (Serv. *Aen.* 10.316). See Weinstock 1971, 12 and n. 7. A similar story in Pliny *N.H.* 7.47, but he does not mention the family. All in all it seems that the connection between the *gens Iulia* and Apollo is quite fragile.

⁹² Scholiast on Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.17; Serv. *Ecl.* 4.10. See Welch 2005, 186, n. 13.

⁹³ Pollini 1990 on the triumvirs, 342–350 on Octavian. On Octavian and Apollo on coins, see *RIC* 1² 31. Coins from the period just before or after Actium showing Apollo, see *RIC* 1² 271 and 272. Regarding coins showing Octavian with the possibly features of Apollo, see Pollini 1990, 349.

⁹⁴ See Hadas 1930, 114; Taylor 1931, 120–121; Zanker 1990, 48; Gurval 1995, 91.

⁹⁵ Against this idea, see Gowing 1992, 309–310. He sees the relationship between Sextus and Neptune as part of a republican tradition. The relationship between the son, his father and Neptune, is evident on the coins of Sextus minted in Sicily 42–40 BC, see *RRC* 520 (no. 511/2a to 3c). Pompeius Magnus with dolphin and Neptune,

Pompeius and Octavian began in 38 BC, with the former's naval success against Octavian. Dio implies that Sextus Pompeius after the victory was strengthened in the belief that he was the son of Neptune and that the god gave him the victory (48.48.5). As a result he put on a dark blue robe and sacrificed horses and allegedly men in the straits of Messina (Dio 48.48.5; App. *B.C.* 5.100).

Antonius on his part had a divine ancestor in Hercules, but his divine imitation was also, or even mostly, directed towards Dionysus.⁹⁶ That Antonius perceived himself as the new Dionysus, thus going from divine ancestry to divine imitation is proven by an inscription from Athens dated to 39 BC, mentioning him as the "new Dionysus".⁹⁷ But if we are to believe Plutarch, all citizens of Ephesus in 41 BC welcomed Antonius to their city as Dionysus (*Ant.* 24.3).⁹⁸ Antonius seems to have picked Dionysus because of the fight against the Parthian Empire and because of Alexander the Great, the great defeater of the Persians; Antonius thus trying to act in the traditional role of a Hellenistic king. Dionysus was relevant because of a myth depicting the god as the conqueror of Asia, perhaps originating from the times of Alexander.⁹⁹

Apollo at Philippi

The conspirators used Apollo on their coins, but according to Valerius Maximus the watchword of the triumvirs at Philippi was 'Apollo' (1.5.7). Contrary to this Plutarch stresses that Brutus used 'Apollo' as his watchword at the battle (*Brut.* 24.7).¹⁰⁰ The context in both sources is Brutus

see no. 483/1–2. On Sextus use of his father in his propaganda (*RRC* 477), see Powell 2002, 107–13 and 120–125.

⁹⁶ See Pollini 1990, 345 and n. 47 and 48, with the evidence; Scott 1929; Zanker 1990, esp. 53; Gurval 1995, 92–93; Mannsperger 1973, 386; Hekster 2004, 162.

⁹⁷ Hekster 2004, 162 and n. 18 regarding the inscription (*IG* II², 1043, 22–4; Dio 48.39.2).

⁹⁸ The earliest coins with Dionysus imitation are dated to 39 BC as the inscription, as is indeed the story on *Neos Dionysus* found in Dio 48.39.2.

⁹⁹ Hekster 2004, 54–55 on the triumph over the Armenians in Alexandria and Antonius appearing as Dionysus. See also Fadinger 1969, 150–153, page 169–176 on Alexander. For the myth of Dionysus, see Bosworth 1999, 2–3. Scott 1929, 133 stresses that Dionysus and Osiris are identical and that Antonius marked himself as a successor of Hellenistic kings.

¹⁰⁰ Weinstock 1971, 14–15; Moles 1983, 251 points out that Plutarch is more likely to have changed and amended the story for literary reasons, but there can be no certainty on this question on literary grounds. Gurval 1995, 98–100 goes for Plutarch, but he ignores Dio 47.43.1, who stresses *libertas* as the watchword of Brutus in the first battle. For the coins, see *RRC* 498–508, Apollo on 503, 504, 506/2.

predicting his own death at his birthday party in Athens shortly before the battle, citing Homer and thus naming Apollo as the god causing his defeat and death (*Iliad* 16.849).¹⁰¹ And even if the triumvirs did use the watchword 'Apollo', they would have used it jointly.¹⁰² Importantly, Brutus and Cassius used '*libertas*' as watchword in the first battle of Philippi, and thus the triumvirs might have used 'Apollo'.¹⁰³ On the other hand Brutus used '*libertas*' on his coins, and thus he could have used '*libertas*' in the first battle and 'Apollo' in the second.¹⁰⁴ For Brutus Apollo must have been a symbol of *libertas*, the god helping the first Brutus to the expulsion of the tyrants.¹⁰⁵

The evidence seems to point slightly more to the murderers of Caesar after all, since the possibility of both sides using the same watchword seems completely unlikely. But of course both sides may have used Apollo as their divine helper.

Legend and calumny: Atia

There is no evidence suggesting a festival to Apollo at the time of the conception of Augustus and thus the story of Apollo as the father of Octavian may be a later invention. In fact the story of Atia and her 'meeting' with the god Apollo, disguised as a snake in the temple of the god, is a version of a common story in the Greco-Roman world.¹⁰⁶ This story is presented as a dream of Atia, but awake her body had a spot shaped as a snake. The story is very similar to that of Alexander the Great, both represented as ruler of the world (Suet. *Aug.* 94).¹⁰⁷ It

¹⁰¹ Mannsperger 1973, 394. Plutarch used the dying words of Patroklos (*Iliad* 16.849), thus implying that Apollo killed Brutus (394, n. 41).

¹⁰² Simon 1957, 34; Hekster and Rich 2006, 160–161.

¹⁰³ Moles 1983, 251. The evidence is Dio 47.43.1; 47.38.3; 47.42.2–4; App. *B.C.* 4.90ff.

¹⁰⁴ Hekster and Rich 2006, 160–161.

¹⁰⁵ Livy 1.16; Dion.Hal. 4.69.

¹⁰⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 94.4 and Dio 45.1.2. For a general discussion of the Atia story, see Lorsch 1997, 796; Kienast 1999, 218–219; Weber 2000, 147–153; 2003, 302–304. See Bosworth 1999 on the god-sent child. For the conception of Romulus and Remus, see Livy 1.4.2, implying that Rhea Silvia invented Mars as the father to her sons.

¹⁰⁷ Weber 2000, 145; Bosworth 1999. On the saviour, see Wallace-Hadrill 1993, 89–96; Gabba 1995, 11–14. Regarding Alexander and also Scipio, see Livy 26.19.7; Simon 1957, 16, 31. Suetonius attributes the story of Atia and Apollo to the Theologumena by Asclepiades of Mendes. Hekster and Rich 2006, 161 stress the problematic nature of the story and the great difficulty in dating it. Weber 2003, 303 points out that the Atia story must be dated between 30–27 BC because the story is Egyptian, but this seems overstating any geographical significance. See also Weber 2000, 151–152; Lorsch 2000, 47. Weber 2003, 310; Wallace-Hadrill 1993, 86 even opens for the possibility that the

must be remembered that the important factor here is not the question of reality or fiction, but how the story was used and when it was invented.

Would it seem unlikely that Dio 45.1.2 was right in stressing that Caesar was influenced by this story to focus on Octavian as heir? Dio is not easily trusted on this matter, but the story should not be dismissed outright.¹⁰⁸ The foundation of the temple of Apollo 431 BC, in the Republican calendar, is 23rd of September. Suetonius mentions this date as the birthday of Augustus (*Aug.* 5). 23rd September 63 BC is also before the calendar reform of Caesar, but the question is whether Suetonius gives the Republican or the Julian date? Feeney concludes that it is likely that Augustus was born, although not conceived, during the festival of Apollo (2007, 154).¹⁰⁹

The single most important and highly problematic piece of evidence regarding the Atia story is the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* 39, originally written by Domitius Marsus between the lifetime of Caesar and 31 BC:¹¹⁰

*Domitii Marsi de Atia matre Augusti:
Ante omnes alias felix tamen hoc ego dicor,
Sive hominem peperit femina sive deum.*¹¹¹

story was created after the death of Augustus. Gagé 1955, 571 on the other hand believes it is an early invention by Octavian. Gurval 1995, 100 stresses that Aslepiades of Mendes is obscure and if the story is contemporary, he asks why other sources do not mention it. Although a valid question, this statement does not prove the evidence wrong. For connections between Alexander the Great and Apollo, see Feeney 2007, 48.

¹⁰⁸ The Story is accepted by Lambrechts 1953, 68. He also suggests that Caesar chose Octavian because Antonius had Hercules, Octavian Apollo. This seems stretching the evidence though.

¹⁰⁹ The theory relies on Suerbaum 1980, 334–335. According to the ancient evidence the *natalis Augusti* was a.d.IX K. Oct (23rd September), or a.d.VIII k. Oct (24th September). See EJ, pp. 52–53; Degraffi 1963, 512–14. According to Suerbaum 24th September is the pre-Julian date and 23rd the Julian date. There was thus, it seems, disagreement in ‘Augustan’ times on the issue.

¹¹⁰ Weinstock 1971, 14. See also Lausberg 1992, 259–268; Schmitthenner 1973, 97 and n. 8; Weber 2000, 151–116; 2003, 303; Simon 1957, 32 dates it to 43/42 BC. See also Courtney 2003, 300–3 and Byrne 2004, on the little we know and have of Domitius Marsus.

¹¹¹ According to Courtney 2003, 304–305: “The poem looks much more like a literary exercise than a document in a propaganda war” (304). But why should the literary quality and the propaganda war exclude each other. Byrne 2004, 255 suggests that the allegedly patronship by Maecenas mentioned in Martial (8.55[56].21–24; 7.29.7–8) is a construction of the Neronian age.

By Domitius Marsus about Atia, the mother of Augustus: And I am called fortunate above all women, whether I, a mortal woman, gave birth to a man or god (trans. Gurval 1995, 101).

A second epigram, the *Epigr. Bob.* 40, is a funerary epigram to Atia, who died in 43 BC, but even this cannot show with any certainty that the epigrams are early. Gurval suggests that the story would be unlikely in the 40s BC, because of the precarious political position of Octavian and because his reputation derived from Caesar, not Atia.¹¹² But if Octavian wanted to create a birth story like Alexander the Great, it could not have been done without his mother.

The epigrams seem to show that Domitius Marsus was involved in the struggle over divinities in the triumviral period.¹¹³ This fits very well within the context of the struggle for divine relationship between Sextus Pompeius, Antonius and Octavian. Of course this does not date the epigrams. But if the information given by Quintilian (*Inst.* 3.1.18) about a letter from Apollodorus, the tutor of Octavian in Apollonia, to Domitius Marsus is to be used at all, it points to an early connection between Domitius Marsus and Octavian, but this is hardly conclusive.¹¹⁴

Legend and calumny: the feast of the 12 gods

At a banquet of 12 gods, mentioned by Suetonius (*Aug.* 70.1–2), Romans impiously dressed up and imitated gods, Octavian himself playing the part of Apollo (The Torturer), not Jupiter. This might be the best attestation of an early relationship. Suetonius attributes the story partly to a letter of Antonius, but why did he choose to mention Octavian together with Apollo?¹¹⁵ It is likely that there was already a connection between Octavian and Apollo at this point. The letter of Antonius would no doubt have had its biggest effect as a contemporary piece of propaganda,

¹¹² Gurval 1995, 101–102.

¹¹³ Byrne 2004, 258 on pro-Octavian propaganda.

¹¹⁴ Byrne 2004, 259, suggesting that Domitius Marsus was together with Apollodorus and Octavian in Apollonia.

¹¹⁵ On Suetonius, see Carter 1982, 191–192. On this propaganda of Antonius, see Charlesworth 1933, 175; Hekster and Rich 2006, 161. Gurval 1995, 97 sees the story as an answer of Antonius to the allegations of Octavian. See also Scott 1933, 32. According to Gurval 1995, 94–8 it is a problem that only Suetonius mentions this banquet, that it was a private affair and that there was no outrage in Rome. Charlesworth 1933, 175; Pollini 1990, 345 believe the story to be fictitious.

during the famine of between 39 and 37 BC.¹¹⁶ If the chronology is correct it seems even more odd that Antonius would make a connection between Apollo and Octavian, because of the 4th *Eclogue*. This would give Octavian the chance to use Apollo positively.

The 4th Eclogue and Augustan ideology

Returning briefly to the child of the 4th *Eclogue*; one possibility is that Octavian himself was the child, although this would be strange because of the date (40 BC). This goes back to Servius' comments on the 4th *Eclogue* (4.10), cited above.¹¹⁷

At the time of creation there was no connection between Octavian and the child. But the longing for peace (4.17) and the ending of the civil wars (4.13f) are vital for an understanding of a period of civil war. Virgil is certainly implying that the child is born in the reign of Apollo; the central part of the poem (lines 4–10) begins and ends with Apollo.¹¹⁸ The 4th *Eclogue* is very close to the later Augustan ideology and as such may be connected to Octavian.¹¹⁹ The story does not tell why Octavian picked Apollo as his patron god, but gives a possible setting for understanding why and at the same time understanding the 'Augustan' ideology in context.

It is thus very likely that Octavian already before 36 BC had picked Apollo as his patron god. The rivalries with Sextus Pompeius and Antonius seem a plausible context for this decision. Octavian then did one better with Apollo: both of his fathers were gods. This was a vital part of the politics of the day. Most likely it all began in the city of Apollonia, the city of Apollo, at some point after 15th March 44 BC, when Octavian learned that Caesar had been murdered.

¹¹⁶ App. *B.C.* 5.77. See Taylor 1931, 119; Hekster and Rich, 2006, 161. For a pro-Octavian story on a banquet with Marcus Antonius as participant, see Vell. 2.83.2.

¹¹⁷ Marincic 2002, 152 balances the identification of Octavian as saviour in Virg. *Eclogue* 1 against the mentioning of Pollio, and concludes that the case against Octavian is strong.

¹¹⁸ On the Sibyl, see Potter 1994, 58–97.

¹¹⁹ Against this idea, see Gurval 1995, 107–10.

1.6. *Ideology and justification*

Even though one objective of the *RG* and the ideology of the regime in general was to provide Augustus with justification of the period from the death of Caesar down to the end of the 'triumviral' period in 27 BC, Augustus does accept that he sometimes did things contrary to the *mos maiorum*, but then, at least in the official ideology, always for the greater good of the *res publica*.

The triumvirate was an assignment with the task to end the civil wars, by pursuing and punishing the remaining assassins of Caesar, and constituting the *res publica*. The powers of the triumvirs are notoriously difficult to establish, and it is vital to accept a difference between the *Lex Titia* and 'Realpolitik'. There remains the fascinating question of the extent to which completion of the triumviral assignment was viewed by the triumvirs, particular Octavian, as genuine tasks as opposed to being convenient pretexts for gaining and keeping power? The obvious answer is that we cannot know, that is, we can only know what they did, not how they felt about it. Importantly, fixed-term tasks, similar to the constituting of the *res publica*, became the standard way for Octavian/Augustus to justify monarchy, as it had been the standard way to justify the triumvirate.

It will be shown in chapter 2 and 6 that the triumvirate contained what could be described as all the powers in the Roman state. Turning to the assignment: at the first instance Antonius and Octavian defeated the murderers of Caesar at Philippi. Later new assignments were added to the triumviral task (Sextus Pompeius and Parthia) and in 36 BC Octavian and his admiral Agrippa won against Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus, thus accomplishing Octavian's part of the assignment of the triumvirate, ending the civil war.

The ending of the civil war was vital for the triumvirate, as it was vital for all combatants in the civil wars; the wish for peace was of course at the same time a wish for victory. The triumvirate is a symbol of the civil wars, but also of the ending of civil strife i.e. since this was integral to the assignment; this was a necessary evil it might have seemed.¹²⁰ The period from the death of Caesar is extremely violent and is a battle for

¹²⁰ See Barton 2007 on the price of peace, the Romans accepting submission under the *Pax Augusta* (252). But for Augustus and no doubt some Romans as well this was about saving the *res publica*.

supremacy of the Roman state. But in 36 BC Octavian may not have thought there would be another civil war. The final war against Antonius for the supremacy was perhaps not as yet conceived. It seems vital to stress its non-inevitability: the marriage between Octavia and Antonius bound the triumvirs together, and success in Parthia would have hugely enhanced Antonius' prestige. But as we shall see, Antonius' desertion of Octavia for Cleopatra led to a decisive rift, and this and Antonius' failure in Parthia gave Octavian his opportunity.

At the same time that the tasks currently at hand realistically could be done in five years. This was not the case and thus five more years were necessary; the triumvirate was thus formally renewed on the pretext that this was needed (the renewal in 37 BC). Importantly, these tasks were in fact agreed at Brundisium (App. *B.C.* 5.65).

In 36 BC after the lightning struck on the Palatine near the house of Octavian, Apollo became the patron god of Octavian. His role in the victories of Octavian was set, even though he had no role in the victory over Sextus Pompeius; the role was filled by his sister Diana, who had a temple near the battle site. The role of Apollo prior to 36 BC is far more problematic, but taken together the sources point to an early connection, most likely going back to Octavian's stay at Apollonia when Caesar was murdered.

The RG is vital in understanding the ideology of Octavian/Augustus. As part of that ideology Sextus Pompeius is treated, more or less in terms of propaganda, as a pirate and as somebody who hides runaway slaves. RG 25.1 mentions that the slaves were given back to their masters. This is a question of normality. Furthermore, Octavian decided to burn old records of debts (App. *B.C.* 5.130; Dio 49.15.3; Oros. 6.20.6–7) and burned documents relating to the conflict (App. *B.C.* 5.132). He did something similar after Actium, after the civil war had erupted once again. He thought and made it appear as if he had accomplished the triumviral assignment. It was time to wait for Antonius to accomplish his part.

Octavian was clearly making it clear that he had done what was expected from him and was ready to carry out the promise of returning power when the remainder of the assignment was complete. This was Antonius' task, and Octavian was putting him on the spot. Importantly, the themes of this analysis, even though not fully developed at this early stage, but, as will be shown in the rest of this book, so vital at the time of Actium, are already clearly visible at this early stage of Octavian's career.

CHAPTER TWO

APPROACH TO WAR

This chapter focuses on the breakdown of the relationship between the two triumvirs, and the way Octavian/Augustus represented the approach to war against Antonius and Cleopatra.

Each protagonist unsurprisingly sought (or may have sought) to put himself in the right. This is relevant because the triumvirate is a vital part of this justification, as the completion of the triumviral assignment lay at the heart of this dispute. Perhaps surprisingly this period was not just one of violence and chaos and the triumvirs were constrained by their assignment, at least in the ideological struggle of the period.

Importantly, at Brundisium new assignments were added to the triumviral task (Sextus Pompeius and Parthia) (App. *B.C.* 5.65). At the same time the marriage between Octavia and Antonius bound the triumvirs together. At the outset it certainly seems as if the conflict between Antonius and Octavian was non-inevitable.

There can be no doubt that the war, when it finally came, was represented as a foreign war; Octavian successfully avoided starting a civil war. But looking at the chronology and the context of events from 36–32 BC, even if there was an official stress on Cleopatra as the formal enemy, this did not conceal that Actium was at the same time a civil war.

2.1. *The breakdown of a 'friendship'*

In accordance with the agreement reached at Tarentum, as mentioned in chapter 1, Antonius provided Octavian with ships to fight the war against Sextus Pompeius and later Octavian was to provide 20,000 soldiers to Antonius' campaign against Parthia.¹ The triumvirate was formally renewed on the pretext that a second five-year term was

¹ Plut. *Ant.* 35; App. *B.C.* 5.95ff; Dio 48.54. See Rice Holmes 1928, 112; Pelling 1988, 213–216; Kienast 1999, 52–53.

needed in order to deal with Sextus Pompeius and Parthia, as decided at the meeting at Brundisium (App. *B.C.* 5.65). This followed from the triumviral assignment and the tasks should be discharged by respectively Octavian and Antonius, but with each co-operating and with an exchange of forces.

In 36 BC Antonius' campaign began when after dynastic problems in Parthia he offered peace, if the captured Roman standards and prisoners were returned; in fact he wanted to invade (Plut. *Ant.* 37.2, 40.6–7; Dio 49.24.5).² This was of course what finally happened under Augustus in 20 BC, a settlement that saw the standards and captives returned, even though there was no military victory, only a diplomatic accord. The standards sought were those lost by Crassus in 53 BC at Carrhae and in 40 BC by L. Decidius Saxa.³

By 37/36 BC Antonius had also resumed his affair with Cleopatra.⁴ This implied a threat to his relationship with Octavian. A breakdown was always likely from this point onwards, but never inevitable. Livy *Per.* 130 stresses that *M. Antonius dum cum Cleopatra luxuriatur tarde Mediam ingressus bellum* ("While M. Antonius was revelling with Cleopatra, he at long last (*belatedly*) invaded Media").⁵ Livy here reproduces criticism that Antonius delayed invasion because of Cleopatra, while Plut. *Ant.* 37–38 suggests he hurried home for her sake.⁶ According to Plutarch Cleopatra was there but not part of the campaign (i.e. as client ruler) (*Ant.* 37.3). The Cleopatra factor was already the key. In the end Antonius lost the campaign and 20,000 Roman legionaries and 4,000 horsemen (Plut. *Ant.* 50). The promised 20,000 men from the meeting at Tarentum were more vital than ever.

Ober rightly points out how different the course of subsequent events might have been had Antonius not suffered defeat against Parthia. Had he brought back the standards and forced a submission of the Parthian

² See Rice Holmes 1928, 123–12; Syme 1939, 259–275 for a description of Antonius and the east.

³ *RG* 29.2.

⁴ Osgood 2006, 244–245, 305. The affair goes back to 41–40 BC (Plut. *Ant.* 28–29; App. *B.C.* 5.11). See Pelling 1996, 12.

⁵ Trans. Schlesinger 1967. It seems more appropriate to translate *dum* with *belatedly*.

⁶ For a criticism of the information in Livy, deriving perhaps from Dellius, see Pelling 1988, 224; 1996, 32. According to him the preliminary marches and the preparatory campaigns meant Antonius attacked remarkably early (in or before July). On the information that Antonius wanted to spend the winter with Cleopatra, not in Armenia, Pelling suggests this to be wrong, as it would only have been possible if the campaign would have been delayed altogether.

king, it would have enhanced his prestige considerably and countered the victories of Octavian and Agrippa.⁷ His army would also have been stronger, both psychologically and in relation to sheer numbers. He would certainly have been less dependent on Cleopatra and thus a conflict between the two triumvirs would have been less likely, at least on that account. It might also have forced the two to agree in the short term, as they would have been equally strong.

In 35 BC Antonius' wife Octavia was sent to Athens by her brother Octavian, bringing, it appears, not the promised 20,000 men, but only 2,000. Antonius sent her home, where she stayed in his house and even took care of his children with Fulvia (Plut. *Ant.* 53–54.1; Dio 49.33.3f).⁸ Cleopatra had been preferred, something that must have enraged Octavian, even though it gave him political opportunities against Antonius (*Ant.* 53.1).⁹

According to most scholars there is a clear connection between the treaty of Tarentum and the 2,000 soldiers sent to Antonius in 35 BC. This shows that Octavian was in the wrong, as the number should have been 20,000 (Plut. *Ant.* 35).¹⁰ But we cannot be sure that the 2,000 was “payment” for the ships against Sextus Pompeius, if they were first instalment or indeed something extra because of the situation. After the trip to Athens by Octavia Antonius and Octavian fell out and in the end the 20,000 never appeared.

Octavia had a role to play at Tarentum and again in 35 BC, but that does not show that the two are linked. Looking at the sources a different picture emerges. Plutarch does not stress the 2,000 soldiers, but the disrespect for Octavia, which Octavian would use as an excuse for declaring war (Plut. *Ant.* 53–54.1).¹¹ Dio is briefer, but the soldiers were sent to Antonius because Octavia begged for this to happen (49.33.3f).¹² Appian stresses cavalry (*B.C.* 5.138), but vitally, all three sources observe that Octavia suggested this. Furthermore, this was not

⁷ Ober 2001, 42–43.

⁸ See Rice Holmes 1928, 130; Scott 1933, 36–37; Syme 1939, 265; Kienast 1999, 60; Osgood 2006, 243.

⁹ Kromayer 1898, 21–22; Pelling 1996, 26 on the context and 39 on the divorce.

¹⁰ Rice Holmes 1928, 130; Syme 1939, 225; Pelling 1988, 215–216, 245; 1996, 39; Bleicken 1998, 256–262; Eck 1998, 30. Against this, see Mommsen 1992, 81; Kromayer 1898, 15; Tarn and Charlesworth 1934, 77. They do not connect the two incidents and instead stress that Octavian tried to get back on good terms with Antonius.

¹¹ For Plutarch, see Pelling 1988, 243–248.

¹² For Dio, see Reinhold 1988, 65–66.

part of Antonius' criticism of Octavian in 32 BC and he did accept the troops in 35 BC according to Dio.

During this period Octavian launched his Illyrian campaign. Although the coastal strip was already a province it was an area of unrest and contrary to that of Antonius, the campaign of 35–33 BC brought victory, also to the hinterland.¹³ After the victory over Sextus Pompeius in 36 BC Octavian once more tasted military glory. Antonius answered back by conquering Armenia, perhaps to stabilise what he had lost during the Parthian campaign.¹⁴ In 34 BC he celebrated a 'triumph' in Alexandria, something impossible outside Rome (Livy *Per.* 131; Vell. 2.82.3; Joseph. *Ant.Iud.* 15.4.3; *Bell.Iud.* 1.18.5; Plut. *Ant.* 50.2; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Dio 49.39–40; Oros. 6.19.3).¹⁵ This was taken to show that the story about Antonius transferring the city of Rome to Cleopatra and the seat of government to Alexandria might indeed be truth (Dio 50.4.1).

In 34 BC the conflict changed from dispute to open rift. Dio and Plutarch's accounts of the breakdown pass rapidly from the donations of 34 BC to the final break in 32 BC; they summarize the growing tensions of 33 BC in brief (50.1.1–2.1; *Ant.* 55). On 1st January 32 BC Octavian verbally attacked Antonius because he made donations of land to Cleopatra. These donations were actually made at the 'triumph' of 34 BC. Antonius had in a despatch to the Senate sought ratification of his *acta*, including the donations, and offered to give up power. This arrived in early 32 BC but was never presented (Dio 49.41.4–6). He had given Cleopatra the title 'Queen of Kings' and Caesarion, the child of Caesar, the title 'King of Kings', at the same time accepting the young boy as the son of Caesar (Plut. *Ant.* 54–55; Dio 49.39.2–41; 50.1; 2.1; 3.3).¹⁶ The so-called Alexandrian Donations even involved Roman land;

¹³ See Rice Holmes 1928, 130–131; Syme 1939, 239–240.

¹⁴ So Kienast 1999, 59. Slightly surprising Antonius minted coins in 34 BC, celebrating the conquest of Armenia, depicting both him and Cleopatra. Foreign powers are not normally part of Roman triumphal celebrations. See *RRC* 543.

¹⁵ Fadinger 1969, 150–153; Woodman 1983, 211–212; Kienast 1999, 61. According to Osgood 2006, 338–339 much of this is simply made up (the triumph and the giving away of land), but he misses the context of the 'triumph', i.e. the campaign against Parthia. This is very much in line with the information later found in the will of Antonius. Woodman 1983, 213–214; Pelling 1996, 40; 1988, 241 suggest that the 'triumph' in Alexandria was in fact a Dionysiac procession. This of course could also be used by Octavian.

¹⁶ *RRC* 543; Rice Holmes 1928, 137; Kienast 1999, 62–63. Fadinger 1969, 125, 150–189 stresses that the speech belongs to 32 BC, but the donations and the will need to be separated. The donations belong to the 'triumph' of 34 BC, as is clear from Dio 49.41; Plut. *Ant.* 54.

Antony had just made Armenia into a Roman province, but it also involved more established Roman territory, e.g. parts of Syria.¹⁷ This must be seen in the light of a renewed war against Parthia, but had a negative impact in Rome.¹⁸ The peace looked fragile, but it was not enough to result in war.

But already in 33 BC the crisis between the two triumvirs was worsening. Agrippa was aedile, which had huge political importance, as he gave games and initiated a building programme, built aqueducts etc., all of which strengthened the support for Octavian in Rome.¹⁹ The political importance is shown by the fact that Agrippa had been a praetor in 40 BC and consul in 37 BC. For someone of his eminence to assume the aedileship was unusual and probably prompted by the coming war.

Dio 50.1 sums up the propaganda struggle in 33 BC (see also Plut. *Ant.* 54ff), with Antony charging Octavian with having removed Lepidus, and having taken possession of land and troops of Sextus Pompeius (Antony wanted half); Caesar on the other hand charged Antony with holding land that was not his, including Egypt, with having killed Sextus Pompeius, whom Octavian was willing to spare (Dio rightly disbelieves this), and with misbehaving towards Armenia. But pride of place in the charge sheet went to the gifts for Cleopatra and her children and the naming of the little boy Caesarion (50.1.3–5).

2.2. *The end of the triumvirate*

The question of when the triumvirate ended has long been a matter of acute controversy. One aspect of the problem is the conflicting claims of the two surviving triumvirs themselves. Antony continued to use the title, as can be seen on a coin from the summer 31 BC, bearing the legend “M ANTONIVS AVG IMP III COS TERT III VIR R P C”, with *Victoria* on the reverse (*RRC* 545/1).²⁰ By contrast it disappears

¹⁷ See Pelling 1996, 40; Reinhold 2002, 57–58 on the gifts to the children of Cleopatra. For the reorganisation in the east from Pompeius to Augustus, see Dio 49.41.1–4; Plut. *Ant.* 54.3–5. See also Bowersock 1965, 42–61.

¹⁸ Kienast 1999, 61.

¹⁹ See Sumi 2005, 208–209.

²⁰ If Dio 50.7.1–2 is to be trusted he suggests that Antony thought of himself as triumvir in 31 BC, as he told his troops in the speech before the battle (fictitious) that he would give back these powers after the victory. See Reinhold 1988, 98–99.

from Octavian's titulature from the start of 32 BC, that is, no evidence exists for Octavian continuing to call himself *triumvir*.²¹

A recent attempt to claim that Octavian acknowledged the title after that date does not convince. Vervaet (2008) claims that Octavian *did accept* that he was still *triumvir*, primarily on the basis of the resignation speech Dio composes for him under 27 BC (53.2.7ff). But Dio was exceptionally free in his speech composition: the Agrippa/Maecenas dialogue is a classic example.²² Octavian's resignation speech is similar and there is little doubt that Dio relatively freely invented the speech. Furthermore, the "*arche*" which Octavian is giving up in Dio's speech is surely not a magistracy but simply autocracy/monarchy.²³ He certainly did not use the title after 33 BC and it is therefore also unlikely that Octavian himself would have spoken in those terms in 28–27 BC.²⁴

There has been much dispute too over the date to which the *triumvirate* had been extended at the renewal of 37 BC. There are two main sources regarding the question of the end date of the *triumvirate*, Appian (*Illyr.* 28) and Augustus himself (*RG* 7.1).

The answer must surely be the end of 33 BC because of (a) the statement of *RG* 7.1 that Octavian was *triumvir per continuos annos decem* (b) the listing of the *triumvirs* at the head of the entry for 37 BC in the *Fasti Capitolini Consulares* (Degrassi 1947, 58), which must signify the renewal of the office. The contrary statement of Appian can be dismissed as his own error.²⁵ The *RG* sentence is hardly conclusive in itself, given

²¹ Kromayer 1888, 11; Reinhold 1988, 93; Pelling 1996, 52; Kearsley 1999, 53. Vervaet 2004, 65, n. 111; 2008, suggests that Octavian began to shift emphasis from *triumvir* to consul in 33 or 32 BC. See also *ILS* 79, 80, the inscription from the Victory Monument at Actium (see chapter 4), all without the title of *triumvir*.

²² The speeches in general in Dio are fictitious rhetorical pieces. See Millar 1964, 78–83; Rich 1990, 11–12.

²³ E.g. "*autarchia*" in 4.3 (to which "*arche*" in the next sentence refers back); "*monarchia*" in 6.4; 9.5–7. Dio also misrepresents the settlement of 28–27. See chapter 6.

²⁴ According to Vervaet 2008 an inscription from Luna shows that Octavian was *triumvir* in 28 BC, as it suggests that he was *IIIVIR R.P.C.* (*ILS* 78). The inscription gives three data: COS VI, *IIIVIR* and IMP V. We know that COS V and IMP V do not actually coincide, so there must be something wrong; either a stonemason's error or extreme local ignorance. Most likely the consular date is a miscarving. See also Girardet 1995, 159–60.

²⁵ This might be contrary to App. *B.C.* 5.95 and Dio 48.54.6, who mention another *pentaetie*. See also Livy *Per.* 132; Dio 50.4.3, *CIL* 5.525 = EJ 57 and Tac. *Ann.* 1.2.1, but these sources cannot for certain solve the matter. See Benario 1975 and Reinhold 1988, 224–225, listing the scholars in favour of the lapsing of the *triumvirate* in 33 or 32 BC. Fadinger 1969, 108–109 dismisses Appian because of his chronological unreliability. See also Kromayer 1888, 2–9; Syme 1939, 277, n. 6; Petzold 1969; Benario 1975, esp. 305;

Augustus' verbal evasiveness, but trying to explain the ideology of the Princeps, Augustus was in his own words not triumvir in 32 BC.²⁶ Importantly, the *Fasti Capitolini* surely does decide it, as the notion that this entry in the *Fasti* was a falsification to create the appearance that the renewal had been at the right time is most implausible.

The question arises what then was the triumvirs' status from 1st January 32 BC on? If the triumvirate lapsed, they had no official status in 32 BC, and Antonius was acting illegitimately in continuing to claim the title. Octavian's status too would in that event be problematic, as he held no other office in 32 BC. He was consul at the start of 31 BC, but stood down during the year; from 30 BC on he was consul continuously, but until 28 he continued to exercise powers in excess of the ordinary powers of the consuls.

In the *RG* Augustus may well have intended to commit himself to no more by this phrase than that he had a five-year term followed by a renewal. It might be suggested that that two uninterrupted periods, as in the *RG*, would pass over any complications, but in fact it would only make the year 32 BC problematic, as Octavian was in principle a *privatus*, if the triumvirate had ended. Alternatively the triumvirate did not lapse till the triumvirs laid down their powers, but this does hardly explain *RG* 7.1 (see below).

Early in 32 BC Octavian convened the Senate, sitting between the consuls (Dio 50.2.5). According to Kromayer the triumvirate did lapse in 33 BC, and Octavian's actions in 32 BC constituted a *coup d'état*.²⁷ It has also been held that later in the year he received a grant of emergency powers, through the *coniuratio Italiae*. Such views must be mistaken: Octavian would not have so flagrantly disregarded the proprieties just when getting the moral high ground was so crucial, and nothing

Bleicken 1990, 14–16; Girardet 1990a; 1995; Kearsley 1999, 53; Pelling 1996, 67; Osgood 2006, 243 with scholarship. The main scholar suggesting 32 BC is Gabba 1970, lxxiii–lxxix (see Reinhold 1988, 224). The inscriptions and papyri used in support of 32 BC cannot affect the issue, see Girardet 1995. *ILS* 77 from Trieste could as well date from 2nd January 33 BC on. See now also Vervaeke 2004, 65, n. 111; Vervaeke 2008.

²⁶ See Girardet 1995, 150–161 with scholarship on this. Suet. *Aug.* 27.1: *per decem annos*.

²⁷ Kromayer 1888, 2–21, stating that the triumvirate did lapse in 32 BC (9) and thus the actions of Octavian in 32 BC equal a 'Staatsstreich' (15). See also Kromayer 1898, 40; Syme 1939, 225, 270–1; Gray 1975, 15; Bringmann 1988, 38; Bleicken 1990, 68; Sumi 2005, 212. Girardet 1995, 149 also dismisses Mommsen, but does not see a 'Staatsstreich' in 32 BC. Fadinger 1969, 214–222, close to Mommsen.

suggests that the *coniuratio* did confer any constitutional powers.²⁸ RG 34.1 describes his own powers in 28–27 BC:

In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia extinxeram, per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium,

In my sixth and seventh consulship, after I had extinguished civil wars, and at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs, ... (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).²⁹

The consensus mentioned in RG 34.1 goes back to 32 BC: Augustus mentions his powers in 28–27 BC and how he got them *per consensum universorum*. This is best explained by RG 25.2, mentioning the oath to Octavian in support of the war at Actium.³⁰ However, the oath to Octavian in the year 32 BC should be seen as political justification; it did not bestow powers on Octavian but justified him keeping what

²⁸ Mommsen 1887b, 1, 696, 2.1, 719 suggests that later in life, when writing the RG, Augustus took the view that the triumvirate had lapsed at the end of 33 BC and that his position prior to the surrender of 27 BC had been a 'Notstandskommando' (thus 1, 696 "später wenigstens den Rechtstitel des Triumvirats nicht geltend machte..."; 2.1, 719 "wenigstens in späterer Zeit denselben betrachtet als erloschen mit dem 31 December 721..."). However, he also thinks that what he handed over in 27 was the 'constituierende Gewalt' which he held as triumvir. And so he concludes that what most probably happened is that he held the triumvirate until 27 BC, but later in life obscured this reality "durch nachträgliche Fiktion des Rücktritts zur vorbestimmten Zeit". See also Mommsen 1992, 84, 91; Vervaeke 2008; 2004, 65, n. 111 suggest that Augustus corrected the past: he did have the second term following directly on the first one, ending December 33 BC, but even though that was the truth, it was not the whole truth, as he was still triumvir till 27 BC.

²⁹ Botteri 2003, 264 has found a new fragment of the RG. This fragment from Antiochia shows that *potens* is the correct reading of RG 34.1, not *potitus*.

³⁰ On the oath, see also Dio 50.6.6. See Ridley 2003, 220–222; Scheid 2007, 82–92 on *per consensum universorum potitus (potens) rerum omnium* and the disagreement of when the consensus was gained by Octavian. Regarding *potens rerum omnium*, the question is if it goes with *transtuli* or *extinxeram*? If *transtuli* is essential the year is 27 BC, if the civil wars are the essential, the year is 29 BC (221–222). But importantly, this still does not change the question of the consensus. Regarding the *per consensum universorum* (RG 34) and the oath see also Kromayer 1888, 20; Kunkel 1969, 320; Petzold 1969, 334–351; Fadinger 1969, 296–332; Kienast 1997, 307. Against this connection, see von Premerstein 1937, 42–43 concentrating on the problems of 'Staatsrecht' and Berve 1936, 241–242, dating the consensus to 28–27 BC because of *transtuli* and pointing out that the *per consensum universorum* would not have been possible until after Actium (246). See also Turpin 1994, 433, 428. Osgood 2006, 357–358 seems to believe that the oath gave Octavian the command, but RG 25 does not mention new powers and a decision to bestow any powers on Octavian. Lewis 1991, 59, n. 12 rightly points out that RG 25 neither shows that Octavian lacked *imperium* nor that the oath conferred it.

powers he already had.³¹ Even if he was still triumvir because he had not surrendered his powers, the universal consent was ‘needed’ because there was no renewal, no third five-year-period, and because there was oddly only one triumvir left. Importantly, there was still an assignment waiting. The oath justified him fighting for the *res publica* against the enemies Cleopatra and Antonius.³² Once again this seems a task very much in line with the triumviral assignment.

According to Vervaeke Octavian’s triumviral position had become uncomfortable after the conquest of Egypt and thus he insisted that his monarchical position was forced upon him *per consensum universorum* (RG 34.1). This is a very dubious reading of RG 34.1. Egypt is mentioned in RG 27.1 as a foreign expansion and thus the victory over Egypt and Cleopatra cannot constitute the ending of the civil wars, as mentioned in RG 34.1. The ending of the civil wars must thus include Actium (RG 25.2). Actium is mentioned together with the oath of 32 BC in RG 25. The connection between the chapters 25 and 34 is thus secured and the oath of 32 BC equals the consensus of 28–27 BC. Furthermore, the triumviral position clearly became uncomfortable after 33 BC, not after 30 BC.³³

One way of saving the legitimacy of Octavian in 32 BC has been put forward by some scholars, who believe the triumvirate ended 33 BC, as part of a trend to normalise the triumvirate, but in rather unconvincing way: the triumvirs only retained powers in the provinces, i.e. as proconsuls.³⁴ During a Senate meeting in early 32 BC Octavian sat

³¹ Benario 1975, 304 and Reinhold 1988, 225; Wallmann 1989, 313–318; Pelling 1996, 53; Osgood 2006, 363–364.

³² von Premerstein 1937, esp. 36–60; Fadinger 1969, 332; Kienast 1999, 67–69. According to Kornemann 1921, 100 this was part of the ‘Entlastung’ of the usurpation of 32 BC.

³³ Vervaeke 2008. He rightly disagrees with Girardet, esp. 1990a, who stresses that Octavian continued commands his provincial, using a *consulare imperium militiae*. See also Vervaeke 2004, 65, n. 111. He thinks it is hard to uphold the thesis that after the official expiration of the second five-year-term Octavian continued to exercise powers by “universal consent”. He does not however base his judgement on an interpretation of the RG.

³⁴ Girardet 1990a, esp. 338–342; 1995, 151; Lewis 1991, esp. 61 and Bleicken 1990, 38–39, 57–62; Kearsley 1999, 53. Against this, see now Vervaeke 2008. On normality, see Gruen 1974; Millar 1973; 1998; Ungern-Sternberg 2004 in a German approach to the question stresses the normality, but defines this as a question of a “crises without an alternative”, quoting Meier’s *Res publica amissa* (1997). According to Ungern-Sternberg the main participants did not propose a different constitution (106). This seems a very deterministic approach to the period.

between the consuls (Dio 50.2.5), but it is believed the meeting was outside the *pomerium*. But proconsuls were not allowed to sit between the consuls, and the triumvirate would hardly have degraded into a proconsulate.³⁵ Furthermore, the powers of a proconsul cannot be spoken of as *potens rerum omnium* either (RG 34.1). This seems the least likely of the possibilities.

The correct explanation must be that the triumvirate was not due to lapse at its terminal date of 31st December 33 BC, but would remain in force until its holders abdicated. This is the view of Mommsen. The renewed triumvirate was extended to the end of 33 BC, but it did not expire until given up by its holders and in the end this was done by Octavian on 13th January 27 BC (see chapter 6 on the last part of this argument).³⁶ Indeed, none of the ancient sources claim that the powers of the triumvirs had lapsed at this point. The time of the triumvirate was up, in as much as the five-year period had ended, but they had to decide when and how they would in fact give up their powers (Dio 49.41.6; Livy *Per.* 132). The fact that Octavian did not use the title anymore should not be confused with the idea that they had lost the triumviral powers.

Slightly different from Mommsen, Fadinger suggests that Octavian was not a triumvir in 32 BC, but still in possession of the triumviral *potestas*.³⁷ It is possible that the *Lex Titia* and the 37 BC renewal were worded in such a way that the office would not actually lapse until surrendered. We cannot know for sure, but a distinction between powers and magistracy would be very odd indeed.

Mommsen's view has now received clarification and strengthening by Vervaet (2008), who reminds us of the little known paper from 1953 by Coli. As Coli and Vervaet argue, duration to abdication was characteristic of all those magistracies which were held not for the year, but

³⁵ Rich 1992, 114. See also Millar 1973, 59.

³⁶ Mommsen 1887b, 2.1, 718–720. See also Mommsen 1992, 84 and 91: “Der Ablauf des Triumvirates war ohne faktische Bedeutung; es endete nur, wenn der Triumvirat selbst abdizierte, wie Augustus es nach dem sizilischen Frieden wollte. Er blieb aber, und so übernahm er als letzter übriger *triumvir rei publicae constituendae* nach Antonius’ Fall die konstituierende Gewalt beider Kollegen. Am 13. Jan. 27 v. Chr. gab er diese Gewalt formell an den Senat zurückgab. Es war die alte Befugnis des Triumvir, die er dem Senat zurückgab”. These lectures were given in 1882/3, as Demandt’s introduction explains. This idea has found support, see Girardet 1990a, 324, n. 4 on the German scholarship. See also Brunt and Moore 1967, 48–49; Rich 1992, 114; Pelling 1996, 27, 67.

³⁷ Fadinger 1969, esp. 143–145. See also Coli 1953, 413, 415.

for specific purposes, such as the dictatorship or censorship, although specific terms were often assigned.

That the triumvirate would lapse only when its holders set it down is in fact made clear by their own language in looking ahead to the time when they would lay down the office: such announcements had already been made (App. B.C. 5.73, 132), and were reiterated, as we shall see, in 32 BC. This also enables us to understand how the delayed ratification of 37 BC had taken place: there had been no urgency about the renewal because it was not strictly necessary.

This also explains Antonius' continued use of the title of triumvir. Dio 50.4.3 mentions that he was deprived during 32 BC of the designated consulship for 31 BC and "all his other power" (τὴν ἄλλην ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν) must mean his triumvirate.³⁸ Antonius of course did not accept the legitimacy of this deprivation.

It is true that Octavian ceased to use the triumviral title and in RG 34.1 prefers to speak of himself, in a non-constitutional way, as being in possession of all things through universal consent, even though *potens rerum omnium* surely derives from the triumvirate. However, Octavian's ceasing to use the title does not mean that his office as triumvir had lapsed. Rather, it was just that he no longer felt it appropriate or politic to speak of himself in this way: from early in 32 BC he was in bitter dispute with his surviving colleague, and Antonius' deprivation of power (Dio 50.4.3) during the year left Octavian as the sole holder of the office, making the title ("member of a board of three") inappropriate. Perhaps Octavian tried to counter the illegitimacy of Antonius' keeping of the title of triumvir. The alternative version is that Octavian felt constrained by the terminal date of the second term. In reality there was little difference, as both 'triumvirs' certainly still had their triumviral powers. Importantly, as the only remaining triumvir, he carefully avoided using or alluding to the title. The reason is obvious—being sole triumvir was a very problematic position. This might indeed explain RG 7.1 and *triumvir per continuos annos decem*.

The question of when the triumvirs would abdicate figured prominently in the disputes of 32 BC. Most likely each of these claims had conditions attached, conditions unacceptable for the opponent. In 33 BC Antonius seems to have linked this to a demand for ratification of his *acta*, including the so-called Alexandrian Donations. The demand

³⁸ Wilcken 1925/1969, 51.

most obviously would have been connected to a claim that the triumviral assignment had been completed. Antonius had conquered Armenia (not Parthia) and the donations represented a reorganisation of the east (34 BC). Octavian had seen off Sextus Pompeius and ended the civil war. Dio and Livy seem to represent the case of each triumvir and thus we are in the unique position to evaluate the war of ideology, knowing how each protagonist presented his case.

That the triumvirs at various points did speak of laying down the triumviral powers (App. *B.C.* 5.73, 132; Dio 50.7.1 [Antonius' speech before Actium]) does suggest that the triumvirate did not lapse automatically. Antonius' promise (Dio 49.41.6 [see above: the despatch to the Senate, sent to Sosius and Ahenobarbus at the end of 33 BC, which arrived in early 32 BC was never presented]),³⁹ Octavian's allegation that Antonius would not return or lay down power *finito triumviratus tempore* (Livy *Per.* 132).⁴⁰ What we have here is a very complex process of diplomacy it would seem; claims and counterclaims were part of this, even though a lot is in the dark for us today. Antonius, as mentioned above, suggested they lay down the powers in a despatch of 33 BC, counted by Octavian in 32 BC, suggesting the same, but as claimed by Livy, Antonius refused.

2.3. *Endgame: the year 32 BC*

A major problem working with the chronology of 32 BC is that the two main sources Plutarch and Dio are very late and relatively brief, whereas fuller accounts like the Memoirs of Augustus and Livy are lost. In his biography of Atticus, Cornelius Nepos sums up the final struggle between Antonius and Octavian very precisely: both desired to be the leading man (*princeps*) not only of the city of Rome but of the world (*Att.* 20.5).⁴¹ This is the judgement of a contemporary.

At the outset of 32 BC the situation was as follows: Antonius had lost in Parthia and his planned renewed attack was discredited by the

³⁹ Gray 1975, 17–18, Fadinger 1969, 197–198; Reinhold 1988, 77.

⁴⁰ See also Suet. *Aug.* 28.1, which shows that Antonius had alleged repeatedly that it was Octavian who was impeding the 'restoration' of the republic (*memor obiectum sibi ab eo saepius, quasi per ipsum staret ne redderetur*).

⁴¹ On the date, see Horsfall 1989, 8–9. Chapters 19–22 belong to 32–27 BC, since Octavian is called Caesar (19.1 and onwards written after death of Atticus 32 BC).

propaganda of Octavian, who on the other hand had a victory over Sextus Pompeius and Illyricum to show. He had ended the civil war and was, on his own claim, the protector of Italy and Rome.

The relative chronology for the year 32 BC was established by Kromayer many years ago (1898). On the first of January Sosius, one of the consuls and a supporter of Antonius, attacked Octavian in the Senate.⁴² According to Dio 49.41.4–6, despatches of Antonius had been received, seeking ratification of the Donations of Alexandria and proposing that both triumvirs should lay down their powers, but these were not presented to the Senate: in the case of the reference to the donations, it was the pro-Antonian consuls Sosius and Domitius who were responsible for the suppression of this damaging information. This development is best seen as occurring early in the consular year 32 BC.⁴³

At a second senate meeting, according to Dio 50.2.5 shortly after the first, Octavian, sitting between the consuls, attacked Antonius and Sosius and promised to produce documents at a later meeting that would show the injustice of Antonius (Dio 50.2.3) (see above 2.2 on Octavian's status at this meeting). It has been suggested that this was a *coup d'état*, since Octavian had brought along a guard of armed soldiers and friends at this meeting, and on the assumption that Octavian had no legal right to preside over the Senate.⁴⁴ If it is accepted that Octavian was still triumvir or in possession of the triumviral powers this assumption is clearly wrong. As a direct result both consuls C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, accompanied by "not a few" senators (Dio), left Rome for Antonius in the east.

⁴² Dio 50.2.3. There is disagreement whether the attack by Sosius on Octavian did take place on 1st January or later, see Rice Holmes 1928, 234–235. The natural meaning of the language of Dio points to 1st January. See Reinhold 1988, 88–89, esp. 88. Against 1st January, see Gray 1975, 15–17, deciding for 1st February. It is claimed that the exchanges over Antonius' suppressed message during 32 BC (Dio 49.41.4–5) must have preceded Sosius' attack. But this is not a necessary assumption, as this development could have occurred between the attack of 1st January and Octavian's decisive intervention. Secondly, Domitius Ahenobarbus as *consul prior* (named first in the *fasti*) would have presided in January, but this would not have precluded Sosius from speaking. For a discussion of chronology with literature, see Fadinger 1969, 195, n. 1; Kienast 1999, 64–66.

⁴³ Gray 1975, 17–18; Fadinger 1969, 197–198; Reinhold 1988, 77.

⁴⁴ Dio 50.2.5. Kromayer 1898, 42; Syme 1939, 270–271; Gray 1975, 15 supports the idea of a *coup d'état*. Against this, see Fadinger 1969, 214–222 stressing that Octavian's armed guard was logical after the attack of Sosius (215–216) and Dio does not support the idea of a *coup d'état* (221).

At a subsequent senate meeting Octavian “read and said what he wished” (Dio 50.3.2: καὶ ἀνέγνω καὶ εἶπεν ὅσα ἠθέλησε). Presumably the items read included the documents to which he had referred at the previous meeting. This cannot have been Antonius’ will, since this only came to his knowledge later. Very likely the main exhibit was Antonius’ earlier despatch to the Senate, seeking approval for the Donations of Alexandria. Perhaps Octavian ‘forgot’ to mention the part of the despatch in which Antonius offered to lay down the powers of the triumvirate.

According to the traditional view the number of senators fleeing Rome was 300. This is an inference from Augustus’ claim that more than 700 Senators fought with him at Actium (*RG* 25.3), and the fact that the total number of senators was over a thousand (Suet. *Aug.* 35.1; Dio 52.42.1).⁴⁵ This is a simple calculation in principle, but surely some did not join either, some were too old etc. The number going to Antonius might thus have been much smaller.⁴⁶

Dio 50.3–4 then reports the subsequent events: the consuls went to Antonius; Octavia was divorced; L. Munatius Plancus and M. Titius deserted Antonius and fled to Rome; alerted by them to its existence, Octavian seized the will of Antonius from the Vestals; the declaration of war followed.⁴⁷ The will, like the despatch of Antonius to the Senate in 33 BC, had provided Octavian with good cards against Antonius; the despatch was not enough for war, but the will certainly helped.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul of the year, gave the advice to Antonius that Cleopatra should leave his camp (Plut. *Ant.* 56.2–3. cf. 58.2, 59.2–4; Hor. *Epode* 9.11–16). This is a vital clue that Cleopatra was present in the camp right from the outset.⁴⁸ Later Antonius divorced

⁴⁵ Syme 1939, 278 and n. 3.

⁴⁶ So rightly Brunt and Moore 1968, 68–69. Similarly Reinhold 1988, 89–90, but he does suggest that 400 is a possibility as well. Mommsen 1992, 85 says “Eine Anzahl Senatoren ging jedoch mit den beiden Konsuln nach Ephesus”. This is wrongly corrected in Mommsen 1992 by Demandt, 85, n. 107, stressing more than 300. Eck 1998, 33 has a figure of “weit mehr als 300”.

⁴⁷ Vell. 2.83 gives a vivid picture of the problems involved in changing sides in a civil war. Plancus did not do so because of his conviction, but because treachery was in his nature (he was a traitor, a *proditor*).

⁴⁸ According to especially Plut. *Ant.* 56.2 Ahenobarbus tried to persuade Antonius to send Cleopatra home to Egypt (from Ephesus). See also Vell. 2.84.2; Suet. *Nero* 3.2; Dio 50.13.6. See Carlsen 2006 on Ahenobarbus in general and page 72–73 on Cleopatra and the camp of Antonius. It seems obvious to conclude that Ahenobarbus understood that her presence might lead to the war being declared a foreign instead of a civil war.

Octavia and again, Cleopatra was the main reason behind this.⁴⁹ Plutarch clarifies that Antonius moved from Ephesus to Samos and then Athens, where Octavia was divorced (*Ant.* 56ff). According to Eusebius the divorce dates to the Macedonian month *Daisios*, which is May–June (*Chron.* 2.140 (Schoene)).⁵⁰ Even after the divorce Geminus was sent to Antonius by his friends in Rome to persuade him to send Cleopatra away; she was the problem in Rome (Plut. *Ant.* 59). Vitally, Plutarch mentions Gaius Calvinus Sabinus' attack on Antonius in the Senate in 32 BC for gifts to Cleopatra and wrong behaviour towards Octavia (*Ant.* 58). Looking at the approach to war the enemy was first of all Antonius, even though he was portrayed as the slave of Cleopatra.⁵¹

The divorce is a fixed point and makes it possible to date a range of events between this point in time and the outbreak of the war. But in between these two dates there is uncertainty regarding the relative chronology of events. Dio makes the reading of the will immediately prompt the declaration of war, but Plut. *Ant.* 58–60 implies that there is quite a gap between them, which is correct, as shown above. Cleopatra's presence in Greece meant Octavian could use that as a means of declaring war against a foreign enemy, something the friends of Antonius must have guessed might happen. The next move was clearly Antonius'. According to Livy the plan to attack Italy was the reason for war. Furthermore, the divorce of Octavia, even though a private matter, did not help their relationship (*Per.* 132). Vitally, the retaining of Cleopatra with Antonius' forces made it possible for Octavian to declare the war on a foreign enemy.

The presence of Cleopatra in Athens resulted in Plancus and Titius fleeing to Octavian in Rome where they revealed the existence of Antonius' will, to be found in the complex of the Vestal Virgins.⁵² Octavian gained access to and illegally seized the document.⁵³ According to Dio

⁴⁹ Livy *Per.* 132; Plut. *Ant.* 57; Dio 50.3.2; Oros. 6.19.4. See Kienast 1999, 65. See also Dio 50.5 for Cleopatra's misuse of Roman soldiers as bodyguards. For the context of 32 BC and focusing on Cleopatra's harming role for Antonius, see Grant 1972, 185–202.

⁵⁰ Kromayer 1898, 44; Pelling 1988, 259.

⁵¹ Dio 50.5.2; 25.1; Serv. *Aen.* 8.696. For the idea that she wanted to be the queen of Rome, see Prop. 3.11.45; Dio 50.5.4; 51.15.4. Dio 50.27.1 also mentions Antonius as an Egyptian, not a Roman. Pliny *N.H.* 33.50 has a story about the *luxuria* of Antonius, even outraging Cleopatra.

⁵² Plut. *Ant.* 58; Suet. *Aug.* 17.1; Dio.50.3.3ff. See Kienast 1999, 66–67 and n. 235 with scholarship.

⁵³ Fadinger 1969, 234 on the *Lex Cornelia de falsis* from 81 BC, making it illegal to open the will of a living person.

50.4.1–2 even the most intimate friends of Antonius disliked the revelations in the will. The will contained damning information, first of all naming the non-Roman children with Cleopatra as his heirs and the wish to be buried in Alexandria next to Cleopatra.⁵⁴

At some point after this Antonius was stripped of the consulate and his other powers (Dio 50.4.3; Plut. *Ant.* 60), i.e. the triumvirate.⁵⁵ Again, the mission of Geminus mentioned by Plutarch implied that this follows the exposure of the will and precedes the deposition from the consulate, which most likely happened at the same time as the declaration of war (*Ant.* 59; Dio 50.4.3 gives the same chronology).

Looking at the chronology and the ancient evidence a picture emerges: Both Antonius and Cleopatra were enemies of Octavian and the *res publica* in the ideology of Octavian, but Antonius still had the possibility to send Cleopatra home and stop fighting the *res publica*, Cleopatra not. The divorce of Octavia no doubt settled this; war could not be avoided, but what kind of war would it be (foreign or civil)? In the end war was declared on Cleopatra, as she was allegedly planning a war on Rome (Dio 50.4). This is most likely wrong, but at this point Antonius was losing the war of words.⁵⁶

According to Syme the will might be a forgery, a piece of propaganda, but apart from perhaps the reading out of the will by Octavian in the Senate, only external evince supports this view.⁵⁷ In fact, the informa-

⁵⁴ Fadinger 1969, 233–244; Goodman 1997, 265; Kienast 1999, 67, who calls the plans for burial in Alexandria an “erstaunlicher Missgriff”. The will and its consequences are especially stressed by Dio 50.4.2, whereas Plut. *Ant.* 58f does not give the will the same importance as Dio and Velleius does not mention it at all. Syme 1939, 283, n. 3 uses this to conclude that Dio is to be disbelieved. Suet. *Aug.* 17 does in fact mention the will and the burial in Alexandria. Pelling 1988, 261 stresses that the public reaction with horror in Dio is not to be found in Plutarch. His conclusion is that Dio is close to the propaganda of Octavian, but even so, this was still the story he told in 32 BC. Wallmann 1989, 310 stresses that the will was produced by Antonius 34–33 BC.

⁵⁵ Antonius clearly did not accept this decision and minted coins with his status as consul for the third time (*RRC* 545–546). See also Reinhold 1988, 93.

⁵⁶ Grant 1972, 185–186 on the marriage of Antonius with Cleopatra, mentioned in late but not contemporary sources (Eutropius 7.6.2 and Oros. 6.19.4).

⁵⁷ There are many unsolved issues regarding this particular question. According to Crook 1957 Cleopatra and her children were not Roman and thus the will would not stand in a Roman court. She was a *peregrina* without *ius conubii*. But why would Octavian invent something that could be challenged on technicalities? Johnson 1978, 495 stresses that the fact that it was used effectively in the propaganda of Octavian does not show it to be false. No ancients suggested that it was a forgery (496–498). He suggests this may have been a military will and that Antonius at least tried to make it legally binding (500–503). According to Sirianni 1984, 236 the will was a partial forgery, but also accepts that it may have been a military will (240). He suggests that Cleopatra and

tion given is close to the letter of Antonius to the Senate regarding his reorganisations of the east, including the Alexandrian Donations.⁵⁸ Importantly, the revelation of the will changed everything.

During 32 BC the army and fleet of Antonius and Cleopatra moved from Ephesus to Samos and then to Actium. Antonius moved from Ephesus to Samos, to Athens, where he divorced Octavia in early summer and then in late summer he and Cleopatra were at Patrae, with their fleet at Actium.⁵⁹ The question is whether these movements to Western Greece happened before the declaration of war and if they were known in Rome at the time of the declaration of war. At Rome it was claimed that Antonius and Cleopatra were planning to make war on the *res publica* and to invade Italy and Rome (Livy *Per.* 132; Vell. 2.82.4; Tac. *Ann.* 3.18; Plut. *Ant.* 56.1–2, 4, 57.3, 58.1–2, 60.2; 62; Paus. 4.31; Dio 50.3.2; 50.9.2; 50.12–13; Flor. 2.21.1–3).⁶⁰ Horace mentions in the *Odes* that Caesar followed Cleopatra, who fled *ab Italia* (1.37.16). Italy, not Greece is emphasised. The declaration of war against Cleopatra was in the ideology of Octavian a reaction to a specific threat to the safety of Rome. Livy stresses that Antonius organised a campaign to invade Italy and gathered huge forces at sea (Ephesus, Samos and Actium) (*Per.* 132). Importantly, Cleopatra was with Antonius close to Rome and thus a foreign war could be declared.

Pelling rightly stresses that the fleet of Antonius could hardly have gathered on the west coast of Greece before August 32 BC and thus disagrees with Plutarch's comment that the delay of Antonius in attacking Italy was a mistake (*Ant.* 58.3). There is no knowing if Antonius

the children were already provided for (240–241). But in fact the donations had not been ratified by the Senate. See also Crook 1989, against the idea of a military will.

⁵⁸ Syme 1939, 282. Similarly Bleicken 1998, 274; Eck 1998, 35 observes that Octavian might not have told the Senate everything. Johnson 1976, 111–129; Wallmann 1989, 311–312, conclude that there is no reason to doubt its validity. On the scholarship on the validity, see Reinhold 1988, 90–91. Grant 1972, 193 points out that Cleopatra and the children could not be the heirs of a Roman, but this seems not to take the power of the person in to consideration. Against this Johnson 1976, 111–129; Rice Holmes 1928, 246–247. On the letter to the Senate, see Fadinger 1969, 154–176.

⁵⁹ See Kromayer 1898, 57; Pelling 1996, 52.

⁶⁰ See Kromayer 1899, 9; Fadinger 1969, 189–194; Woodman 1983, 212. Eder 1990, 99 observes that the assembling of the army at Ephesus was in preparation of the war against Parthia, but Ephesus still 'showed' Octavian to be right; they planned an attack on Italy. Patrae and Actium was of course much closer to Italy. Pelling 1996, 48 rightly stresses that the decision of Antonius to bring Cleopatra so close to Italy was a mistake from a political point of view. According to Murray 2004, 8 Antonius wanted to invade Italy.

and Cleopatra planned this attack, most likely not, but ideologically it was too good to be true for Octavian: the enemy was at the door and something needed doing.⁶¹

The consequence was the declaring of war, which happened late summer of the year.⁶² At some point in time the *indictio belli* had been transferred to the *Campus Martius*, where a spear was thrown into 'enemy' territory.⁶³ Octavian in 32 BC, declaring war on Cleopatra alone, imitated this.⁶⁴ This rite was perhaps an invention, perhaps a reinvention.⁶⁵ This was most likely not a proclamation of war to the enemy, but simply a ritual proclamation of war.⁶⁶ At the time the spear was thrown Cleopatra (and Antonius) might have been in Western Greece, close to Italy.⁶⁷ Dio 50.4.4f says that Octavian initiated the ceremony as a *fetialis*.⁶⁸ Plutarch agrees with Dio that the war was declared on Cleopatra alone (*Ant.* 60).

Italy and the western provinces also swore an oath of allegiance to Octavian. Octavian thus gained support, perhaps as a counterbalance to the demonstration of loyalty to Antonius taken by client kings and dynasts at Samos around the same time (*Plut. Ant.* 56.4–5; 61.1–2). The *coniuratio Italiae*, it must be assumed, happened before the declaration of war.⁶⁹ If this is so, it might have been secured before the

⁶¹ See Pelling 1996, 52, stressing that the attack was unlikely.

⁶² Kromayer 1898, 43; Pelling 1996, 54.

⁶³ Thrown from or over the *Columna Bellica* at the Temple of Bellona, see Wiedemann 1986, 478–483; Rich 1976, 57 on the rite. On the preliminaries of war, see Rich 1976, 56–118.

⁶⁴ See Kienast 1999, 68; Reinhold 2002, 54–58; Fadinger 1969, 223–264.

⁶⁵ Rich 1976, 57, n. 3 sees it as a revived rite, whereas Wiedemann 1986, 482, 484 stresses it might be an invention. Servius *Auctus* 9.52 mentions that the rite was used against Pyrrhus, but this has been rejected by Rich 1976, 57, n. 3, who rightly points out that the war would have been declared on Tarentum not Pyrrhus and that the story contains anomalies. See also Wiedemann 1986, 480–481.

⁶⁶ Rich 1976, 106. See also Reinhold 1988, 94 on the rite.

⁶⁷ See Kromayer 1898, 43.

⁶⁸ Wiedemann 1986, 482. See Livy 1.32.4. Rich 1976, chapter 3 stresses the *rerum repetitio*; the demand for satisfaction came to be performed not by the *fetiales* but by the *legati* appointed by the senate (57).

⁶⁹ So rightly Eder 1990, 99–100; Osgood 2006, 357. Linderski 1984, 79–80 suggests that the oath was a military oath like RG 3.3 (*sacramento*), but the fact that the word is used in RG 3 but not in RG 25 does suggest it might not be. There might indeed be little difference between the different oaths as pointed out by Linderski, but if it is a military oath it must belong after the declaration of war. But this oath is not just a traditional military oath as stressed by Linderski, but an oath giving support for Octavian in a coming war. Linderski underestimates Octavian's use of old traditions in new ways. He also stresses that Octavian was *dux privatus*, which was not the case, as he still had the powers of the triumvir. See also Sumi 2005, 210–212.

enemy arrived at Actium. The vital point was that Cleopatra stayed with Antonius close to Italy. Had she left for Egypt it would have been very difficult to declare a foreign war. As mentioned the oath is best seen as part of the build-up of support before the declaration and did not give him new powers, but justified his keeping of the triumviral powers, triumvir or not. The naming of Octavian as the commander in the war then accompanied the declaring of war, as “demanded by Italy”. Also important, the western provinces had not demanded it, but still took the oath, most likely following the declaration of war; this was important for Octavian. In RG 25.2 Octavian describes the oath as follows:

Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit; iuraverunt in eadem verba provinciae Galliae, Hispaniae, Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia.

The whole of Italy of its own free will swore allegiance to me and demanded me as the leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium. The Gallic and Spanish provinces, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia swore the same oath of allegiance (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

Augustus himself was in no doubt that he did not do anything wrong when retrospectively writing the RG: chapter 26.3 mentions that he had never fought an unjust war (*nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato*). Even though this is referring to the fighting in the Alps, the implication must be taken to mean that he had never done so in all wars he had fought. The general assertion is also made by Suetonius (*Aug.* 21.2). Suet. *Aug.* 17.2 mentions the oath of *tota Italia* and its function seems a political justification rather than the bestowing of powers to Octavian. The justification for the war against Cleopatra was that she was preparing a war against Rome.

Part of the purpose of the oath may also have been to undermine the argument, no doubt used by Antonius, that the *res publica* was in the domination of the faction of Octavian, and thus he, Antonius, would free it. This is RG 1.1, but the other way around. The fact that both consuls had fled to Antonius would have supported this idea, and has been connected to the alleged *coup d'état* by Syme (1939, 270–271), but in a brilliant counter argument by Octavian it was undercut, as all Italy rallied to Octavian. The state was not under the domination of a clique, because all of Italy and more than 700 Senators had rallied to Octavian's cause. Furthermore, the consuls left Rome “privately”; they were not doing their jobs.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ See Crevier 1754, 18.

Closest to an understanding of this context and the war against Cleopatra is perhaps Dio, stating that the war was declared on Cleopatra, in reality against Antonius (50.4.5). There was going to be a civil war, the question was who was going to start it. Octavian waited to declare war till the will was produced and then wisely declared it against Cleopatra, but the decisive factor most likely was the force of the enemy moving into position in Western Greece. There was a long period from the initial discussion in the Senate, the revelation of the will of Antonius and the declaration of war.

One element in the declaration of war was the declaring of Cleopatra a *hostis*. But there is also the related question whether Antonius was declared a *hostis*. This was used against inner enemies, trying either to avoid civil war, or as a means of resolving it.⁷¹ Dio states in 50.4.3–4 that the war was declared on Cleopatra and that Antonius was not declared a *hostis* (see also Plut. *Ant.* 60.1), but was deprived of all of his powers and of the consulship which he was due to hold in 31 BC. Octavian thus avoided the odium of beginning a civil war. At the same time he made sure that Antonius became *privatus*, much as Octavian in his early career (*RG* 1.1). If Antonius were to take up arms against Octavian and the *res publica*, he would declare war on the *res publica* and thus declare himself a *hostis*.⁷² Both would then be *hostes*, but again, at this point in time Antonius had the possibility to abandon Cleopatra. In reality all of this was rather unimportant perhaps, but as justification it was important.

Against this Suetonius (*Aug.* 17.2) and Appian (*B.C.* 4.38, 4.45) assert that Antonius was declared a *hostis* in 32 BC. Appian names a certain Sergius as the only member of the Senate who voted against the *hostis* declaration, in gratitude for Antonius' having saved him from proscription. There is a clear disagreement in the source material and both traditions cannot be right.

According to Fadinger Octavian had Antonius declared a *hostis*, at first without formal declaration, which was then later executed, most probably after Actium. Pelling holds that the declaration perhaps hap-

⁷¹ On declaring an inner enemy *hostis*, see Knepe 1994, 57.

⁷² According to Andersen 1938, 35 Antonius was not declared a *hostis* before Actium, but it changed after Actium because Antonius had fought in the war. This is correct, but it seems important to stress that he was not declared a *hostis* after the war either; he declared himself a *hostis* by taking up arms against Rome.

pened later in 32 BC, or early 31 BC.⁷³ However, Appian associates the *hostis* declaration with the cancellation of Antonius' designation to the consulship, a measure which Dio shows took place at the same time as the declaration of war against Cleopatra. A timing before the outbreak of hostilities is also indicated by Suetonius' vaguer reference, stating that, although Antonius had been judged *hostis*, his relatives and friends were allowed to join him. Most likely, Appian and Suetonius are merely referring loosely to the declaration of war against Cleopatra and associated removal of Antonius' powers and offices, and it was against the latter that Sergius cast his solitary vote.

Antonius was not declared a *hostis* because that would have meant that Octavian had begun the civil war. Instead, he succeeded in representing Antonius as beginning the civil war, by remaining at Cleopatra's side and so turning the foreign war into a civil war.⁷⁴ This also meant that there was a way back for 'everybody', as mentioned in RG 3.1:

*Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi,
victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci.*

I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world, and as victor I spared the lives of all citizens who asked for mercy (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).⁷⁵

In the end the *clementia* did not include Antonius, as it did not include the murderers of Caesar mentioned in RG 2. But vitally, there never was a *hostis* declaration and Antonius was presented as beginning the civil war, by opting not to break with Cleopatra.

To sum up, Antonius had provided Octavian with good cards. Antonius' despatch to the Senate in 33 BC, most likely read in the Senate by Octavian in 32 BC, the will of Antonius, his divorce of Octavia, Cleopatra's presence with the army of Antonius and their advance to Western Greece all provided Octavian with ideological justification. Cleopatra had chosen to stay with Antonius close to Rome and thus made a foreign war possible and justifiable. But when Antonius helped

⁷³ Fadinger 1969, 245–264; Pelling 1988, 264; 1996, 54; Wallmann 1989, 315–317. See also Dio 50.6.1 and 50.23.3–6. Reinhold 1988, 93 on Dio and Antonius as *hostis*. Dio 52.31.10 mentions that a Roman waging war on the monarch should not be tried, but declared *hostis*.

⁷⁴ See Pelling 1996, 54, correctly noting that through standing by Cleopatra Antonius became in his enemies' view 'a self-confessed enemy of Rome'.

⁷⁵ Regarding the way back, see Crevier 1754, 31, who states that Antonius was not declared a *hostis*, as this would have meant the same fate for all with him.

Cleopatra against his fatherland a foreign war turned into a civil war, or so at least in the ideology of Octavian.

2.4. *Attack and counterattack*

After Octavian had successfully ended the civil wars in 36 BC and Antonius had reorganised the east after his victory over Armenia in 34 BC the triumviral assignment had been accomplished, apart from Parthia, which in the end never happened. What remained was for the two triumvirs to decide when and how to give back the triumviral powers to the *res publica*. Of course we cannot presume they would really have retired into private life, any more than Octavian was to do in 27 BC. But, if this had not turned into war, they would have had to stage a two-man version of the 27 BC settlement, allowing them to claim they had returned the powers of the triumvirate. The breakdown between the two men was not inevitable—although likely ever since Antonius resumed his relationship with Cleopatra in 36 BC.

Both triumvirs proposed to a surrender of powers, but the offers seem phrased in a way that the other would find it hard to agree (Dio 49.41.6; Livy *Per.* 132; Suet. *Aug.* 28.1). In 33 BC Antonius seems to have linked this to a demand for ratification of his *acta*, including the so-called Alexandrian Donations. Octavian's counterclaim demanded that Antonius should return to Rome and lay down his powers. Instead of their giving back their powers, the relationship between the triumvirs deteriorated and claims and counterclaims took over. In this battle of words Antonius gave Octavian a string of good cards to play: the despatch to Rome offering to lay down the triumviral powers also contained the so-called Donations of Alexandria, giving among other things Roman territories to foreigners. The will of Antonius later followed, with his wish to be buried in Alexandria, not Rome.

Summing up the difficulties related to the end of the second term of the triumvirate, the triumvirate was not due to lapse at its terminal date of 31st December 33 BC, but would remain in force until its holders abdicated. This is the view of Mommsen, supported by "Fadinger"/Coli/Vervaet. It did not expire until given up by its holders and in the end this was done by Octavian on 13th January 27 BC (see chapter 6).

After Octavian's appearance at a Senate meeting in early 32 BC, the pro-Antonian consuls Sosius and Domitius and a number of like-

minded senators decided to leave Rome and head for the camp of Antonius: war was closing in. Octavian brilliantly countered the fact that Antonius could claim to fight for the *res publica*, both consuls being on his side, with the *coniuratio Italiae*. Both triumvirs according to themselves were right and the other wrong; the battles of words meant that both presented themselves as fighting for the *res publica* against foreign and civil enemies.

In the end war was declared on Cleopatra, because she was with Antonius in Greece. What were they doing there with an army if not attacking Italy? Most likely a direct assault on Italy was not part of their plans, but they were certainly preparing for war. Antonius would have had his own justificatory account, claiming to be freeing Rome from the domination by a faction. But Cleopatra's presence in the camp and his continued liaison with her greatly weakened his case. The supporters of Antonius recognised this and urged him to send Cleopatra home to Egypt, which he declined. Antonius himself was not declared a *hostis*, as Octavian did not want to provoke a renewed outbreak of the civil wars he had ended in 36 BC. It was up to Antonius to decide what to do; to fight against Octavian with Cleopatra meant allowing Octavian to represent him as making war on his own fatherland. Of course Antonius most likely tried to present his association with Cleopatra as just traditional support by a friend of the Roman people. But such a justification for the liaison was thin indeed.

CHAPTER THREE

DECISIVE CONFLICT(S)

The battles of Actium and Alexandria saw monarchy return to Rome, with Augustus as sole ruler. Together they form one of the most decisive turning points in world history: one battle decided the war (Actium), the other ended it (Alexandria).¹ The ideology of the battle, the ‘myth of Actium’, has always been a matter of scholarly dispute. This has been given renewed strength since the appearance of Gurval’s book in 1995, which seeks to refute the doctrine that Actium was the foundation myth of the regime (7). Remarkably, there is one issue on which there is a general consensus amongst modern scholars, namely that Actium was a civil war, but in the ideology of the regime of Octavian/Augustus it was presented as a foreign war against Cleopatra of Egypt. This consensus is part of the tendency to reveal Augustus as the arch-deceiver, but as will be shown below it does lack support in the ancient evidence.

3.1. *Bellum Actiacum Alexandrinumque*

When Augustan writers wrote history, Antonius and Cleopatra were represented as planning to invade Italy and this claim has come down to us as the historical tradition.² However, even though there is unlikely to have been any substance in this allegation, Actium is in fact an excellent position from which to start a naval war; there is a protected harbour, and it is possible to command the southern approaches to Italy, to effectively seal off the Adriatic and the eastern shores of Italy.

Countering the invasion, or perhaps more likely, striking first in the war that was by now surely inevitable, Agrippa allegedly captured

¹ On the actual battle, outlining the evidence and modern scholarship, see Lange *forthcoming*. This paper counters the widely held notion that Actium was not a real battle and defends the sources’ claim that the battle was decided by Cleopatra’s treachery. See Lange 2008b on the historiography of the battle.

² Livy *Per.* 132; Vell. 2.82.4; Tac. *Ann.* 3.18; Plut. *Ant.* 56.1–2; 58.1–2; 60.2; 62; Paus. 4.31; Dio 50.3.2; 50.9.2; 50.12–13; Flor. 2.21.1–3. See also Kromayer 1899, 9; Fadinger 1969, 189–194; Woodman 1983, 212; Pelling 1996, 48.

and held Methone, Patrae, Leucas and Corinth late 31 BC, which led to a blockade of the Ambracian Gulf and the fleet of Antonius.³ As a result the supply routes of Antonius were cut off.⁴ But surely it would have been difficult to retain these places under the circumstances without weakening the battle force needed for the fight against Antonius. Plutarch does in fact suggest that Corinth may not have been retained (*Ant.* 67.7). Perhaps the blockade was not effective after all.⁵ Ultimately, the attack on Methone gave Octavian the possibility to cross to Corcyra (Corfu) and then Actium.⁶

Next Octavian launched a surprise attack on Actium itself (Dio 50.13.1). If successful, it would end the naval engagement and the following land battle most likely would have decided the war. By defeating the navy of Antonius Octavian would cripple the possibilities of his enemy, thus forcing the final battle. In the end the surprise attack was unsuccessful.

Octavian set up camp on high ground to the north of the gulf of Actium. Normally a land battle would have followed at this stage, but summing up in brief the land skirmishes at Actium, it would seem that after M. Titius and Statilius Taurus had defeated Antonius' cavalry nothing much happened (Dio 50.13.5; Livy *Per.* 132). The fact that no battle was fought on land at Actium is perhaps the biggest surprise of the entire campaign. It should have followed the naval engagement, but never did.

Finally, on 2nd September 31 BC, after four days of storm (Plut. *Ant.* 65) the battle that created the myth of Actium materialised.⁷ There is a general accepted consensus in modern scholarship on the central issue on the battle of Actium since Kromayer, which rejects the account given in the ancient evidence, according to which Cleopatra decided to flee and Antonius, much to the surprise of the ancient evidence, to

³ Kromayer 1899, 9–28; Richardson 1937, 159; Grant 1972, 205–207; Johnson 1976, 48; Reinhold 1988, 103. On Corinth, see Dio 50.13.5, who puts the capture of Corinth before Actium, Plut. *Ant.* 67.7.

⁴ Vell. 2.84.1; Dio 50.13.5–6, 14.4; Flor. 2.21.4. See Woodman 1983, 221–222; Kromayer 1899, 19–20, 25–26; Reinhold 1988, 103. Oros. 6.19.6 on Agrippa's interception of supply ships.

⁵ At the same time Oros. 6.19.5ff; Vell. 2.84.1; Dio 50.11–15; 50.27.8; Plut. *Ant.* 63, 68.4 all point to desertion, disease and hunger amongst Antonius' troops. See Woodman 1983, 222 for a list of desertions.

⁶ Richardson 1937, 156, n 15; Osgood 2006, 372.

⁷ Syme 1939, 335 on "the foundation-myth of the new order". See also Wallace-Hadrill 1993, esp. 5.

follow her. Instead the modern consensus is that the withdrawal was in accordance with a prearranged plan.⁸

But in fact only Dio seems to undermine the prevailing consensus in the ancient evidence that Cleopatra decided to flee and Antonius followed her (Dio 50.15.1). According to Dio the council before the battle had Cleopatra suggest that they flee and fight another day, as the battle was lost before it was fought.⁹ Dio 50.33.1–2 seems very close to the information in the rest of the ancient evidence, as it focuses on Antonius and his disbelief when he learned that Cleopatra was fleeing. According to Plutarch Cleopatra ran away at a time when the battle was yet to be decided; it is at this crucial point that Antonius chose Cleopatra above his men (Plut. *Ant.* 66). He did not even believe she was behind the fleeing and instead mentions her fleet.

Looking at Dio the panic in 50.33.1–2 seems the more likely scenario, as it finds support in the remaining evidence, suggesting Cleopatra led the flight. Importantly, the double treachery by Cleopatra and Antonius was no doubt perfect for propaganda purposes, but so was the plan of Cleopatra accepted by Antonius (Dio 50.15), as it stressed Antonius' inability to behave like a Roman. Thus both stories might derive from the propaganda of the victor.

The main problem with approaching Cleopatra's betrayal is that 'everybody' today agrees this never happened.¹⁰ The ancient evidence however, stresses Cleopatra's betrayal. Virgil *Aen.* 8.704ff mentions that Actian Apollo fires the first shot of the battle and as a result the enemy flees (707–8):

*ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.*

The queen herself was seen to woo the winds, spread sail, and now, even now, fling loose the slackened sheets (trans. Fairclough 1934).

⁸ See Kromayer 1899. There seem at the outset to be two incompatible traditions in respect of ship numbers: one in which Antonius had the advantage and a Livian tradition (Florus and Orosius) in which Octavian had the advantage. See Johnson 1976, 24–39; Reinhold 1988, 113 for the modern discussions on ship numbers. Importantly, the evidence cannot be used to show with any kind of certainty that Antonius could not have won and thus there was in principle no reason to flee. See Lange, *forthcoming*.

⁹ Kromayer 1899, 44, 48; Bengtson 1977, 238–239; Pelling 1996, 59; Osgood 2006, 374.

¹⁰ See Kromayer 1899; Tarn 1931, 196; Grant 1972, 213; Murray and Petsas 1989, 133.

Similar a Late Latin translation of Josephus *C. Apion.* 2.59:

Sed quid oportet amplius dici, cum illum ipsum in nauali certamine relinquens, id est maritum et parentem communium filiorum, tradere eum exercitum et principatum et se sequi coegit?

But what more need be said, when she, deserting even him—her husband and the father of their children—in the naval battle, compelled him to surrender his army and imperial title to follow her? (trans. Thackeray 1926).¹¹

Relinquens is perhaps better translated as “leaving” not “deserting”, but there is no prearranged plan in Josephus. Velleius agrees and stresses that Cleopatra took the initiative in the flight and that Antonius chose her above his soldiers (2.85.3). In fact this is also found in Plutarch (*Ant.* 66.3), Florus (2.21.8–9) and Dio (50.33.2).

All the evidence suggests that Cleopatra betrayed Antonius, with the exception of Dio, who contradicts himself. The battle of Actium was most likely decided because during battle Cleopatra and her fleet hoist their sail and made off for Egypt. Importantly, Cleopatra fled because she thought it best for her fleet. In the end it was thus understandable for Cleopatra to flee, saving her fleet, when things went wrong, but incomprehensible that Antonius made after her (Plut. *Ant.* 68), leaving his fleet and his army behind.¹²

After the battle of Actium, Octavian sent envoys to Canidius Crassus and the army of Antonius. Ultimately, the army was abandoned by Crassus and the other officers and the legions changed sides (Plut. *Ant.* 68.2–3; Dio 51.1.4). They had been ordered into Macedonia by Antonius (Plut. *Ant.* 67.5) and remained intact for seven days (*Ant.* 68.3). The picture given is that of a Roman army devoted to their general, even though Antonius did not live up to this (*Ant.* 64.2–4).¹³ Antonius’ army was later incorporated into the forces of Octavian and some were disbanded (Dio 51.3.1–2).¹⁴ This is an example of the *clementia* of Octavian (RG 3). The partisans of Antonius were pardoned,

¹¹ Pelling 1988, 284 suggests that Cleopatra’s betrayal is mentioned first by Josephus. This is hardly true.

¹² Mommsen 1992, 85–86 on Cleopatra’s reasons for fleeing.

¹³ Pelling 1988, 288 on the negotiations between the army and Octavian. He stresses that Canidius was loyal towards Antonius, the army was disloyal. This does seem overstressing the point, as Antonius had after all left them in battle. Similar Grant 1972, 212–213.

¹⁴ See Reinhold 1988, 125–128. Regarding the soldiers of Antonius, see Keppie 1983, 79–80.

but Canidius Crassus and Cassius of Parma, murderers of Caesar (RG 2), were not allowed to live.¹⁵

After Actium Octavian took up winter quarters at Samos 31–30 BC. He used this period to reorganise the East, on many levels accepting the arrangements of Antonius, using client kings.¹⁶ The new changes still left Greek affairs in the hands of Greeks, and all in all the political aims of Octavian seem to have been reconciliation, not punishment.¹⁷

In early 30 BC Octavian had to go back to Italy to attend to a problem with the disbanded soldiers.¹⁸ There seems to have been some kind of financial discontent; the riches of Egypt were needed more than ever.¹⁹

The envoys of Cleopatra and Antonius sent to Octavian illustrate that the tides were turning, as they offered that Cleopatra should abdicate and Antonius should live as a *privatus*. Octavian only replied to Cleopatra, suggesting that she kill Antonius or banish him (Plut. *Ant.* 72–73.1; Dio 51.6.4–5). A second embassy offered money from Cleopatra and Antonius offered suicide, if Octavian would spare Cleopatra (Val.Max. 50.1.19; Dio 51.8.1–4). A third embassy offered gold (Dio 51.8.4–7; Plut. *Ant.* 73.1; 74.1). Octavian offered nothing, as he did not have to.

L. Pinarius Scarpus had the command of four legions at Cyrene (Dio 51.9.1) and the remainder of the fleet of Antonius and Cleopatra was at Paratonium, close to Scarpus, who declared for Octavian. The four legions were taken over by Gallus who attacked Alexandria from the west, Octavian from the east, having marched through Syria.²⁰ As he closed in on Alexandria, Cleopatra ordered her men not to oppose Octavian.²¹ During winter more client kings changed sides as well, like Amyntas and Herod before them.²² Cleopatra seems to have acted in

¹⁵ Vell. 2.87.3.

¹⁶ Kienast 1999, 71; Bowersock 1965, 85–86; Reinhold 1988, 122–123.

¹⁷ Bowersock 1965, 90, 99. Macmullen 2000, 2–4, 29 stresses the importance of Greek culture in Rome and concludes like Bowersock that the changes were after all minimal with the victory of Octavian.

¹⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 17.3; Plut. *Ant.* 68.4; Dio 51.4.1; Vell. 2.88. See Rice Holmes 1928, 159–160.

¹⁹ Pelling 1996, 61–62.

²⁰ See Pelling 1996, 59–63.

²¹ Joseph. *Ant.Iud.* 15.6.7; *Bell.Iud.* 1.20.3; Plut. *Ant.* 74.1; Flor. 2.21.9; Suet. *Aug.* 17.3; Dio 51.9.5–6; Oros. 6.19.14.

²² Pelling 1996, 61.

the best interest of Egypt, trying, that is, to save her throne and the country.

There seems not to have been much fighting at Alexandria; the final attack was on 1st August 30 BC. The ships sent to oppose Octavian raised their oars in friendly gesture. Antonius won a cavalry engagement (Dio 51.10.4), but his infantry was defeated and Alexandria surrendered (Strabo 17.1.10; Livy *Per.* 133; Vell. 2.87.1; Plut. *Ant.* 76.1; Suet. *Aug.* 17.3; 71.1; Dio 51.10.2–5). According to Plutarch (*Ant.* 76) the desertions happened before the final battle and according to Dio (51.10.2) they happened after.²³ Either way, the war was over.

Livy reports that a false rumour that Cleopatra had been killed drove Antonius to suicide (*Per.* 133). According to Plutarch it was Cleopatra who deceived Antonius to think she was dead and as a result he committed suicide (*Ant.* 76). Dio also suggests that Cleopatra betrayed Antonius at Pelusium (51.10.4–6; see also Plut. *Ant.* 76.2).²⁴ The love of Antonius and Cleopatra's betrayal surely must be seen as a continuation of the story at Actium.

The death of Cleopatra soon followed. Plutarch, Suetonius and Dio all stress that nobody knows for certain how she died (*Ant.* 86.2; *Aug.* 17.4; 51.14.1).²⁵ Perhaps it would have been an embarrassment for Octavian if she lived, as Caesar had earlier encountered criticism when he led Cleopatra's sister Arsinoe in his triumph, although she was not killed after the triumph, but later by Antonius to please Cleopatra (Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* 15.4.1; App. *B.C.* 5.9; Dio 43.19.3).²⁶ The problem is the lack of ancient evidence. More likely perhaps Cleopatra was too proud to be led in the triumphal procession (Hor. *Odes* 1.37; Livy *Per.* 133).

After the victory Octavian gave a speech to the Alexandrians announcing his *clementia* (Dio 51.16.3–4, Plut. *Ant.* 80.1). The fact that Alexander founded the city is stressed by Dio, who also mentions Octavian's visit to see the great king (16.5). In Suetonius this story is used as an antithesis to the rule of the Ptolemies and to Cleopatra and Antonius (*Aug.* 18; 17 with Cleopatra and Antonius).

²³ Kromayer 1898, 65; Rice Holmes 1928, 163, n. 5, both supporting Plutarch.

²⁴ See Rice Holmes 1928, 164; Reinhold 1988, 133; Kienast 1999, 72.

²⁵ The sources mention snakebite and poison. See Pelling 1988, 319; Reinhold 1988, 135–136; Osgood 2006, 388. Perhaps Cleopatra died on 10th August. See Pelling 1988, 318; 1996, 63, n. 331.

²⁶ Syme 1939, 298–299. See also Nisbet and Hubbard 1970 on *Odes* 1.37; Grant 1972, 224–227. Pelling 1988, 318 rightly suggests that if this had been suspected Tacitus surely would have mentioned it in *Ann.* 1.10.

Cleopatra and Antonius were buried in Alexandria in the *tumulus* Cleopatra had been building. Even at this point Octavian played the game of propaganda, as this was in accordance with the will of Antonius. This should be seen in connection with the Mausoleum of Octavian on the *Campus Martius* (Suet. *Aug.* 17.4; 100.4; 101.4).²⁷ Octavian fought for Rome, Cleopatra for Egypt, supported by Antonius.

As for the offspring of Cleopatra, Antyllus, the eldest son of Antonius, and Caesarion, son of Caesar, were killed, but the rest of her children were provided for by Octavia (Dio 51.15.5; Plut. *Ant.* 81.1; 87; Vell. 2.87.2; Suet. *Aug.* 17.5).²⁸ Helios is not heard of again, but his sister Selene was used in dynastic politics and married to Juba of Mauretania.²⁹

The capture of Alexandria in the end could be no more than the postscript to the battle of Actium, highly visible in the desperation of the final acts of Antonius and Cleopatra. Octavian needed the riches of Egypt to pay the soldiers, but he also took the time needed to secure his position in the whole of the Roman Empire.

3.2. Bellum Externum, Bellum Civile

As already noticed it is a common misconception amongst modern scholars to say that the war at Actium was represented by the regime only as a foreign war against Cleopatra.³⁰ Only a few protests have been

²⁷ See Rice Holmes 1928, 168, n. 3 for more ancient evidence.

²⁸ See Pelling 1988, 323–327; 1996, 64; Kienast 1999, 73.

²⁹ See Syme 1939, 300; Pelling 1988, 325.

³⁰ Benario 1975, 309 observes that it was a foreign war and perceived as such at first, but this later changed, i.e. with RG 34.1. For the idea that this was portrayed not as a civil war, but only a foreign war, see Poduska 1970; Hannestad 1988, 56–57; Reinhold 1988, 115; 2002, 54; Wallmann 1989, 314; Eder 1990, 100; Christ 1995, 254–256; Galinsky 1996, 82; Eck 1998, 35–36; Southern 1998, 96; Kienast 1999, 68; Murray 2002, 354; Kleiner 2005, 205, 222; Sumi 2005, 216; Osgood 2006, 351, 375; DeBrohun 2007, 257; Keaveney 2007, 51, 54, 89. Meier 1980, 257; Wallace-Hadrill 1993, 7; Knepp 1994, 70 stress a foreign war against Cleopatra and the un-Roman behaviour of Antonius. While this is not wrong, it does not show that it was just a foreign war. According to Gurval 1995, 15–16, 28 Augustus himself did not see Actium as a civil war. His claim is therefore that the poets mention something Augustus does not like, namely civil war (189–191, 229, 230, 244, 259). On page 245 he concludes: “Like Horace and Propertius, Vergil recognized the painful reality of Roman civil war”. See also Griffin 2005, 308. The Eclogues are not a promising start for an Augustan classic, because it mentions civil war. DeBrohun 2007, 275 rightly suggests that foreign and civil war almost had become

raised to this commonly held view.³¹ And indeed, the traditional view is wrong, as the war was also a civil war. This was shown in chapter 2, looking at the historical context and the approach to war, and will be supported below by interpreting contemporary and later sources.

The fact that the war was declared on Cleopatra (Dio 50.4.4) should not make us forget that Augustus mentions the same war as a civil war (RG 34.1). Had Actium been a civil war, it would, according to Johnson, have diminished the achievements of Augustus.³² But luckily the civil war did also provide a foreign victory, the capture of Egypt. Octavian wanted to avoid starting the civil war, but there were Romans helping Cleopatra, fighting against the *res publica*, and they automatically became enemies of the *res publica* when taking up arms against the Roman state. At the same time they, by their actions, turned a foreign war into a civil war. Octavian never denied that he fought Antonius; indeed he claimed to have defended the *res publica* against him. In reality of course this was always a civil conflict, into which Antonius had allowed Cleopatra to be embroiled.

Everybody knew Antonius was the enemy, but he was not declared a *hostis* and it was not declared as a civil war, partly because Octavian did not want to be the one to break the peace gained after the victory over Sextus Pompeius, ending the civil war. In the end he was able to represent Antonius as attacking his fatherland and helping the enemy of Rome, his mistress Cleopatra. The long time from the reading of the will to the declaration of war was used for preparations, not just military preparations, as Octavian had to convince the Romans that the army and fleet of the enemy at Patrae and Actium was to be used to attack Italy and Rome.

Rich and Williams stress that "Octavian's side represented the war not as a civil war against Antony, but as an external war against the Queen of Egypt".³³ This is a common way of describing the conflict, implying it ought to have been represented as a civil war. But first, Augustus never said it was not, secondly, he stressed victory and peace, and thirdly, everybody knew and mentioned civil war. Civil war is

the same thing, culminating in the battle of Actium, but then wrongly concludes: "It was among Augustus' greatest achievements at last to disentangle the two".

³¹ A few notable exceptions in the scholarship are Scott 1929, 137; Woodman 1983, 211–13; Pelling 1996, 54, stressing that Antonius should not be forgotten as an enemy.

³² Johnson 1976, 76 and 96.

³³ Rich and Williams 1999, 184.

extreme and cannot be concealed from people, even less so from those who fought in it. Perhaps for posterity, but the mentioning of the civil war in the first line of the concluding chapter 34 of the *RG* shows this idea to be wrong.

Similar Syme observes that “The official Roman version of the cause of the War of Actium is quite simple, consistent and suspect—a just war, fought in defence of freedom and peace against a foreign enemy: a degenerate Roman was striving to subvert the liberties of the Roman People, to subjugate Italy and the west under the rule of an oriental queen” (1939, 270). This is also explained as follows: “The clue is to be found in the character of the War of Actium—as it was designed and contrived by the party of Octavianus. It was not a war for domination against Antonius—Antonius must not be mentioned” (275). In Syme’s view Octavian in reality staged a *coup d’état* and was the aggressor, but he represented Actium as a just war against a foreign enemy and Antonius was not to be mentioned. He does not accept that it was a civil war in the Augustan ideology.

The final word in this section must be on the *RG*. Ridley makes a surprising comment on Actium and civil war.³⁴ Although the *RG* is late, the information, according to Ridley, has implications even before Actium. In two passages, he alleges, Augustus contradicts his propaganda claim that the Actium conflict was just a foreign war, namely in his reference to the extinguishing of civil wars at *RG* 34.1 but still more starkly with his characterization of Antonius at *RG* 24 as *is cum quo bellum gesseram*. He writes: “Without his realising it, Augustus’ attempt to monopolise attention in a war as if there were only the victorious side, and at the same time to conduct his usual obliteration of rivals’ memories, has backfired. He has revealed the gender of his real opponent in a civil war and thus undone years of official propaganda” (Ridley 2003, 125). Augustus cannot be caught out as easily as this. The phrase *is cum quo bellum gesseram* does not exclude Cleopatra as co-belligerent; Antonius is singled out here just because it was he who despoiled the Asian temples. Actium (*RG* 25) was clearly a civil war, as well as a foreign war. Octavian/Augustus never attempted to conceal this, but merely pinned the blame on Antonius for making it so.

³⁴ Ridley 2003, 124–125. Regarding civil war and the *RG*, see also Berve 1936, 245. Jones 1977, 169 oddly observes that Augustus only mentioned civil war twice in the *RG* (3.1; 34.1). How many times should it be mentioned?

3.3. *Actium as a civil war*

We must now consider the ancient testimony on Actium to examine in more detail if Actium was accepted by our ancient evidence as a civil or a foreign war. Augustus himself should be given the privilege of testifying first. *RG* 34.1 stresses:

In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia extinxeram,...

In my sixth and seventh consulship, after I had extinguished civil wars,...
(trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

Similarly *RG* 3.1 stresses *Bella terra et mari civilia externaque*. It also mentions 600 ships, thus stressing Naulochus and Actium, both civil wars.³⁵ Egypt is mentioned in *RG* 27.1 as a foreign expansion and thus the victory over Egypt and Cleopatra cannot constitute the ending of the civil wars as mentioned in *RG* 34.1, at least not on its own. The ending of the civil wars must include Actium (*RG* 25.2), as part of the triumphal assignment. The accomplishment of the assignment was vital for Octavian.³⁶ In the *RG* this is stressed by the continuation of civil strife in *RG* 1.1 and 34.1 (introduction and conclusion).

Gurval stresses that *RG* 25 is more a defence than a glorification of victory, and he might be right; civil war is after all nothing to be proud of.³⁷ He stresses that Augustus “assumes a somewhat defensive attitude toward the Actian campaign” (1995, 134–135), which is part of downplaying the civil war (1995, 135). This is exactly why Augustus stressed the *ending* of the civil wars, as in *RG* 34, and peace after victory, as in *RG* 13. According to Gurval Augustus did not see Actium as a civil war (15–16), and he sees no connection between *RG* 25 and *RG* 34, but this is simply wrong. Civil war is mentioned in the first line of *RG* 34, and that civil war can only be Actium. Gurval isolates a chapter of the *RG*, but that was never the intention. The adversary in chapter 24 is Antonius, and the oath in *RG* 25, for the war at Actium, is again mentioned prominently in *RG* 34 as consensus, in the same sentence as civil war.

Turning to the historians, Livy *Per.* 133 reads:

³⁵ Poduska 1970, 33–34 sees no connection between Antonius, Actium and civil war in the *RG*.

³⁶ According to Berve 1936, 245 *RG* 34.1 is not about the civil war, but the restoration of the *res publica*, but he does not take the triumphal assignment into account.

³⁷ Gurval 1995, 16.

Caesar... in urbem reversus tres triumphos egit, unum ex Illyrico, alterum ex Actiaca victoria, tertium de Cleopatra, imposito fine civilibus bellis altero et vicesimo anno.

Caesar returned to Rome to celebrate three triumphs, one for the campaign in Illyricum, a second for his victory at Actium, and the third over Cleopatra. He made an end to the civil wars in their twenty-second year (trans. Schlesinger 1967).³⁸

Velleius, an enthusiastic supporter of the Augustan regime, clearly had no problems mentioning Actium as a civil war.³⁹ Following his relatively extended treatment of the Actium campaign (2.84–86), Velleius briefly sums up the sequel as follows (2.87.1):

Proximo deinde anno persecutus reginam Antoniumque Alexandream, ultimam bellis civilibus imposuit manum.

The following year Caesar followed Cleopatra and Antony to Alexandria and there put the finishing touch upon the civil wars (trans. Shipley 1924).

This is echoed in 88.1 *ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit manum.*

Seneca beautifully stresses the difference between the triumvirate and the Principate, Octavian and Augustus in *De Clementia* 1.11.1:

... fuerit moderatus et clemens, nempe post mare Actiacum Romano cruore infectum, nempe post fractas in Sicilia classes et suas et alienas, nempe post Perusinas aras et proscriptiones.

Granted he was restrained and merciful—to be sure, after the sea at Actium had been stained by Roman blood, after his own and others' fleets had been wrecked in Sicily, after the altars of Perugia and the proscriptions (trans. Morgan 1998, 182).

³⁸ See also Milnor 2005, 193, n. 12 on the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus' work *Historiae Philippicae*: "He does not, of course, discuss the civil wars". This is not true, as the civil war against Cassius and Brutus is mentioned in 42.4.7. According to Mellor 1999, 187 Justin, whose excerpts is what survives of Trogus, omitted everything unpleasant to know or unnecessary to imitate from Trogus. One wonders if this would involve civil war. Alonso-Nunez 1987, 66–70 stresses Trogus as being against the Roman expansion and concludes that he was not pro-Roman. Why should he not mention the civil war? Cornelius Severus (Courtney 2003, 320–328) also mentioned civil war, but the date is not secured. On fragmentary historians and civil war, see Braund 1992 (Lucan), XIX.

³⁹ See Woodman 1983, 291 on the civil wars, beginning in 49 BC and ending in 29 BC.

This is strong language and critical as well, but again, it must be remembered that Augustus accepted that Actium was a civil war. Vitrally, Seneca stresses that the actual battle of Actium had Romans fighting Roman. Seneca is close to *RG* 2 and 3.1 (civil war and *clementia*, at least for some), but he is also ruthlessly honest about the civil war period.⁴⁰

Suetonius stresses *bellum Actiacum*, which also covers the capture of Alexandria, since it is not mentioned in chapter 20 on the foreign wars. In chapter 9 he writes:

Bella civilia quinque gessit: Mutinense, Philippense, Perusinum, Siculum, Actiacum.

The civil wars that he waged were five, called by the names of Mutina, Philippi, Perugia, Sicily, and Actium (trans. Rolfe 1951).

Carter draws a contrast between Suetonius' honesty in describing Actium as a civil war, with Appian's practice which he explains in terms of the supposed propaganda of Augustus (1982, 99). This misinterprets Appian, who in *Praef.* 14 describes the Roman acquisition of Egypt as the product of the last of the civil wars. Thus in making the lost *Egyptian Wars* the culmination of his work, Appian (himself a native of Egypt) was representing the Actium and Alexandrian wars not as a foreign rather than a civil war, but as the conclusion of the civil wars.

Tacitus (especially *Ann.* 1.3 and 1.9–1.10) describes the period of the triumvirate as one of civil war, and in *Ann.* 1.9–1.10, where the pros and cons of Augustus are compared, civil war is mentioned in both. The vital question for Tacitus is how Octavian behaved within this framework, in the civil war; the question of civil war itself was not raised, nor is the regime's alleged cover up.⁴¹

Turning last to the Augustan poets, they are highly problematic. In Horace *Odes* 1.37.2–3 Cleopatra is the enemy alone without Antonius (Cleopatra as *fatale monstrum*).⁴² The same goes for Propertius 3.11.31–32.

⁴⁰ See also Apocolocyntosis 10.2: *in hoc terra marique pacem peperit? ideo ciuilia bella compescuit? ideo legibus urbem fundauit, operibus ornaui?* ("Is it for this I have made peace by Land and Sea? For this have I calmed intestine wars? For this, laid a firm foundation of law for Rome, adorned it with buildings") (trans. Warmington 1969). This sums up the ideology of the Augustan regime nicely and still the civil war is mentioned, or more precise, as in *RG* 34.1, the positive result, that is the ending of the civil wars.

⁴¹ See also Manilius 1.907–21 and Flor. 2.21.2, clearly stressing Actium as a civil war.

⁴² According to Lowrie 2007, 82 this shows that Actium was perceived as a foreign war.

Odes 3.14 is central regarding civil war; Augustus returned from Spain in 25 BC and Horace observes (14–16):

*ego nec tumultum
nec mori per vim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.*

I shall not be afraid of insurrection or violent death while Caesar is in charge of the world (trans. Rudd 2004).⁴³

Lowrie rightly asks the question why Horace would recall the civil war at this point and what that would mean for his support or rejection of the ideology of the regime.⁴⁴ The subjugation of Spain was not a civil war, but it was significant as the temple of Janus was closed in 25 BC.⁴⁵ The Social War (18), Spartacus (19), recalling perhaps also the war against Sextus Pompeius, Philippi (28: *consule Planco* 42 BC) and Janus (not mentioned), surely reflects back on the civil war period.⁴⁶

The return of Augustus 24 BC, not the campaign in Spain, guaranteed that there was no more civil war. Civil war is relevant above all because of concern for Augustus' life. If he was to die, so soon after the end of the civil wars, it would have seemed only too likely that civil wars would return. This view must have been common at the time, as the civil war was clearly fresh in mind. There is a movement from civil war to peace, but a fear that civil war might return, even though the victories of Augustus help, and perhaps even more so, his return to Rome.⁴⁷ This is very much in line with the ideology of the regime.

And Horace of course ought to know what civil war meant as he had himself fought at Philippi.⁴⁸ He never gives an account of the battle itself, but he did not have to. Everyone knew what had happened.

In *Epode* 9 Horace mentions Antonius, although not by name; this is it seems less a question of foreign *or* civil war, but about both foreign *and* civil war. According to Watson Actium was a foreign war exactly

⁴³ See also Nisbet and Rudd 2004, who stress that *vim* refers not to foreign wars but violent disorder at home; the jurists associate *vis* with *metus* (Ulp.*Dig.* 4.2.1). Horace uses *vis* together with civil war in *Odes* 4.15.17f. (2004, 187).

⁴⁴ Lowrie 2007, 84–85.

⁴⁵ See Brunt and Moore 1967, 54–55. But peace of the Augustan era was not only a question of expansion, but also a question of civil war: *pax* is both internal and external. See Weinstock 1960, 45.

⁴⁶ See Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 188 for the wine jar recalling the war of the *Socii*.

⁴⁷ See Syme 1939, 333 for 24 BC.

⁴⁸ See Nisbet 2007, 8. Harrison 2007, 24 strangely observes that Horace did not try to conceal the fact.

because Antonius is not mentioned by name.⁴⁹ In Horace Cleopatra is certainly the enemy, but at the same time Romans are her slaves, and thus Romans are fighting Romans (11–16). Future generations will refuse to believe it; it is so unheard of. But of course it will be remembered thanks to Horace. This shows the intention of the poem to inflict a *'damnatio memoriae'*, but certainly not to forget Antonius.⁵⁰

The gender of the fugitive is also very revealing, as *aut... ille Cretam* (line 29) suggests a man, not a female Egyptian.⁵¹ The context of the poem does the same by stressing that “the enemy has put on a cloak of mourning instead of his scarlet one” (27–28).⁵² Antonius is not mentioned by name, but he is clearly the enemy.⁵³ This is a blurring of foreign and civil war.

Line 27 also mentions Antonius as a *hostis*; the following mention of the general's cloak makes this a clear reference to Antonius.⁵⁴ This is odd at first, as he was never declared a *hostis*.⁵⁵ Surely the answer is that he was not declared a *hostis*, but made himself a *hostis* because he helped Cleopatra and betrayed his fatherland: Antonius turned a foreign war into a civil war. This is not a revisionist description of Antonius by Horace, quite the contrary; he is close to the official line of the regime. *Punico* does reveal the Roman general; no name was needed.⁵⁶ And

⁴⁹ Watson 2003, 313; 2007, 97; Lee 1998, 226. Horace mentions Actium as a civil war in *Epistles* 1.18.61–63 (*adversarius est frater*).

⁵⁰ According to Johnson 1976, 73; Nisbet 1984, 14 Antonius was not the enemy at Actium. Cairns 1983, 93 stresses that Antonius is not mentioned in the poem at all, but he does not explain the *Romanus* in line 11. Cairns 1983, 85–87 dismisses the possibility of Antonius being the enemy in lines 27–32 because he was not defeated on land and took another route. Instead it is about Hannibal. But Antonius was defeated on land, fighting or not, and the route is hardly important. The Sextus story also suggests a connection to Antonius, as in the *Epode* 9 in general. He also suggests that *terra marique victus* (27) points to Hannibal as well, but again the context shows that Antonius is more likely, because the term is used on the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium.

⁵¹ Mankin 1995, 177: *ille* may serve to emphasize this point.

⁵² Countering the idea of Cairns above, using Livy 33.47ff, the exchange of the scarlet cloak of the general with that of a common soldier is a story attributed to Pompeius after Pharsalus (Caesar *B.C.* 3.96.3; Plut. *Caes.* 45.8), Lepidus (Vell. 2.80.4) and Sextus Pompeius after Naulochus (App. *B.C.* 5.122; Dio 49.17.3). See also Plut. *Demet.* 46.6, significant because his life is paired with Antonius. The context is surely that of a Roman general. See Mankin 1995, 176–177.

⁵³ Rightly so Watson 2003, esp. 333.

⁵⁴ This is accepted by Watson 2007, 97, 332–333 on *hostis*.

⁵⁵ Watson 2003, 332–333.

⁵⁶ Watson 2003, 333 for *Punico*, the general's mantle. According to Cairns 1983, 87 *Punicus* might suggest oriental luxury.

vitaly, a *hostis* declaration was not needed, as Antonius made war on his country, helping Cleopatra, a formally declared *hostis*.

The army standards (line 15) must be understood together with *Romanus*.⁵⁷ Cleopatra was not only there, she was, most surprisingly, in charge of Roman soldiers. This could be used as clear proof of her plan to conquer Italy and Rome; this is the aggression (Livy *Per.* 132) and a clear misuse of Roman legionaries (Dio 50.5). The standard is a symbol of the Roman soldier, or in this case, of their disgrace.⁵⁸

Gurval accepts that the poem is on Actium (138) and even civil war, at least the war against Sextus Pompeius (146). He concludes: "The conflict is civil war, and however much support Horace gave Octavian's cause, these sympathies did not lead the poet to deny this painful reality" (159). Horace is saying something Augustus does not want to hear? Gurval is putting everything upside down: It all goes back to the assumption that for Octavian civil war was 'negative' and should not be mentioned.⁵⁹ Gurval concludes that there is an absence of civil war in the poetry of Horace: "His record of Roman, civil war (the battles of Mutina, Philippi, Perusia, Naulochus and Actium), however, is conspicuously absent from the Horatian corpus".⁶⁰ This is clearly wrong.

Propertius mentions Actium on a number of occasions and in 2.1.27–34 the context is civil war. He writes:

*Nam quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos
aut canerem Siculae classica bella fugae,
eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae,
et Ptolemaeei litora capta Phari,
aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum attractus in urbem
septem captivis debilis ibat aquis,*

⁵⁷ According to Watson 2003, 324 this plays on the male prejudices against female presence in a military camp.

⁵⁸ Mankin 1995, 167–168 on the standard as a symbol. See also Keppie 1984, 67–68 on the importance of the standard, and 224–225 on coins with standards.

⁵⁹ Griffin 2005, 313 talks about a couple of dutiful celebrations of Actium (*Epod.* 1, 9). A more positive approach is found in Morgan 2000, 89–91, stressing that civil war was bad because there is no conquest and thus Horace mentions this conquest of Romans who have abandoned Roman values. Nisbet and Rudd 2004, xxi point out that Fraenkel's (1957) thought that Horace accepted the ideology without taking into account the violence and deception that characterized Octavian's seizure of power. They also suggest that the idea of looking at Horace as subversive does not take into account the closeness of the poet and the regime, symbolised by Maecenas and Augustus, Augustus wishing him to become his secretary (Suet. *vita* 18) (xxi).

⁶⁰ Gurval 1995, 10, 10–12 on the poetry in general. Gurval does accept that Propertius (189–191) and Virgil (244) do mention Actium as a civil war.

aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis
Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;

For as often I sang of Mutina or Philippi, where Romans brought Romans to the grave, or the naval war and the rout off Sicily, or the ruined hearths of Etruria's ancient race, and the coasts of Ptolemaic Pharos captured; or I should sing of Egypt and the Nile, when, haled into Rome, it flowed flagging with its seven streams captive; or the neck of kings encircled with chains of gold and Actian prows speeding along the Sacred Way:... (trans. Goold 1999).⁶¹

The Actian and Alexandrian campaigns are here treated together with the earlier civil wars, Mutina, Philippi, Perugia and Sicily. The absence of the Illyrian wars is surely significant, as it no doubt shows the importance of the wars of Actium and Alexandria, even though the poem does not say anything explicitly about civil war and the two victories.⁶²

Propertius 2.15.41–48 claims that if everybody lived a life of wine and women there would have been no Actium. According to Stahl the poem shows overt defiance of the regime.⁶³ But if it is accepted that everybody knew Actium as a civil war and if it is accepted that the regime acknowledged that it was a civil war, there is no defiance. But perhaps there is even more. Nobody wants civil war, but Antonius started it by supporting Cleopatra. Perhaps the poem is being ironic here; perhaps this is a criticism of Antonius, famous for wine and women? This is after all the subject of 2.16 (and 2.34), where Antonius flees from Actium out of love of Cleopatra, thus betraying his fatherland.

In Virgil's *Aeneid* Antonius is finally mentioned by name (8.685), but otherwise the poem does not suggest more than the other contemporary evidence, more civil war, even though *discordia* is mentioned in line 702, together with *Bellona* (703). Actium is the centrepiece of the shield of Aeneas (675).⁶⁴ The enemy at Actium is clearly both Antonius and Cleopatra (685–688):

⁶¹ See also 2.15.44; 2.16.38; 2.34.61; 4.6.17; 4.6.67 for Actium.

⁶² Hubbard 2001, 100–101 stresses that 2.1 is not tactful because of the mentioning of civil war, which is a misconception of the ideology of the regime. Stahl 1985, 102 stresses that Propertius was a child of civil war, which makes him anti-Octavian (117), because Augustus perceived Actium as a foreign war (126). He mentions the RG, but not chapter 34.1. DeBrohun 2003, 211–212 stresses Actium's "hidden" status as a civil war, downplayed in the official ideology, but this is "manipulated" by Propertius, because he mentions Actium as a civil war, at the same time stressing Cleopatra. This is in fact close to the ideology of the regime.

⁶³ Stahl 1985, 215–233.

⁶⁴ Gransden 1976, 161–187, Actium as centrepiece see 162.

*Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
Victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum
Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.*

Here Antonius with barbaric might and varied arms, victor from the nations of the dawn and from the ruddy sea, brings with him Egypt and the strength of the East and utmost Bactra; and there follows him (o shame) his Egyptian wife (trans. Fairclough 1934).⁶⁵

According to Kraggerud there is no civil war in the *Aeneid*, but in book 8 Virgil did not hide it altogether.⁶⁶ This is absurd; either civil war is mentioned or it is not. Civil war is in fact also mentioned in book 1 in the prophecy of Jupiter in book. Peace will eventually be secured and (*Aen.* 1.292f);⁶⁷

*...Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt,...*

Quirinus with his brother Remus, shall give laws (trans. Fairclough and Goold 1999).

The *spoliis Orientis* with which Augustus arrives in heaven are mentioned as well as Romulus and Remus giving laws together; the result is the closing of the temple of Janus (*Aen.* 1.293f). There is a blurring of foreign conquest and civil war as in book 8, as in the ideology of the regime.⁶⁸

According to Woodman Virgil stresses the togetherness of the twins and omits all mention of the killing, as stressed by Livy (1.7.2). They are also different in their approach to civil war; Livy sees Romulus'

⁶⁵ *Ope* is better translated as "riches", see Gransden 1976, 178.

⁶⁶ Kraggerud 1998, 15, 13. See also Gleason 1998, 119; Beard 2007, 124. Against this, as mentioned above, Morgan 1998, 183 stresses that there is a lot of civil war in the *Aeneid*, because the Latins and the Trojans fighting later make up Rome. DeBrohun 2007, 263–269 stresses that the prophecy of Jupiter 1.257–96 and the future age of peace under Augustus (1.286–96) is connected with Romulus' killing of Remus: this is a problem according to her because a reconciliation of Romulus and Remus and the end of civil war is a clear contradiction. This implies a problem with civil war, but if Actium is accepted as a civil war and the closing of Janus 29 BC the result of this, the civil war was ended 29 BC, and Romulus and Remus reconciled. The problem is that she thinks that Augustus did not accept Actium as a civil war, only as a foreign war (266).

⁶⁷ According to Bosworth 1999, 6 the prophecy (*Aen.* 1.286–96) means that Augustus ended the civil wars and brought peace; he conquered the world and achieved peace.

⁶⁸ According to DeBrohun 2007, 256 the Romans made a clear distinction between foreign and civil war. This is clearly wrong.

killing as the precursor of the civil wars, whereas Virgil sees civil war in immediate terms, which is Actium.⁶⁹ But in fact the ending of the civil wars under Augustus is what they have in common. Livy 1.19.3 in connection with *Per.* 133 mentions Actium as a civil war and the closing of the temple of Janus after Actium. Similarly, Virgil mentions the closing of the temple of Janus (*Aen.* 1.293f) together with the fratricide of Romulus (292f), or more precise, he mentions that they will give laws together, meaning there will be no more civil war (surely this is a clever way of using the known killing of Remus in a new way). This is in fact the same conclusion as reached by Livy (1.19.3). The enemy is portrayed as a Roman general, even though Antonius is not always mentioned directly, and civil war is hinted at or spelled out differently, but the fact remains, Actium was also a civil war, certainly also in the ideology of the regime.⁷⁰

3.4. *Actium and Alexandria: one or two wars?*

The way events turned out presented problems of conceptualizing the victories, which is reflected in the ambivalent practice of our sources; some mention one war and some mention two. There had been two campaigns in two quite different theatres, of which the first at Actium was in fact decisive, but the second at Alexandria had brought the conflict to an end. In reality of course this was one war, and it is often so described of in our sources. But some slipped understandably into speaking of two wars (e.g. Velleius), and this helped to justify the celebrating of two triumphs. Sometimes *bellum Actiacum* (and similar phrases) was used just for the first campaign, but sometimes the battle's decisiveness led to the label being applied to the whole conflict. Importantly, each phase was to receive its own commemorations.

Livy 1.19 writes:

post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.

After the battle of Actium, when the emperor Caesar Augustus had brought about peace on land and sea (trans. Foster 1919).

⁶⁹ Woodman 1989, 135 and n. 21.

⁷⁰ See also Ovid *Meta.* 15.826–28.

1.19 stresses *post bellum Actiacum* and thus seems to imply that the war ending in August 30 BC is summed up under the heading 'Actium'.⁷¹ In *Per.* 133 there is an emphasis on both wars; the subject of book 133 was clearly the battle of Actium and the capture of Alexandria. In 1.19 Livy also mentions that *Augustus* brought about peace on land and sea; the title *Augustus* needs stressing here. This passage was written after 27 BC and still the battle of Actium remains the turning point. Even though the temple of Janus was closed in 29 BC after Alexandria, the whole war was called *bellum Actiacum*. This is hardly a surprise, because Actium was the decisive battle in the war, but the war itself did not quite end with the battle. Suetonius *Aug.* 9, as mentioned, also stresses *bellum Actiacum* and it clearly refers to the whole war, as Alexandria is not mentioned as a foreign war (*Aug.* 20).

RG 25.2 mentions the war in which Octavian was victorious at Actium, and even though Egypt is mentioned in 27.1, the consensus of chapter 34.1, going back to the oath mentioned in RG 25.2, together with Actium, points to the same idea as found in Livy; Actium in RG 25.2 gives the name of the whole war against Cleopatra and Antonius, even though it stresses *ad Actium*. There is a blurring of foreign and civil war, as the war was declared on Cleopatra and one result of the (civil) war was that Egypt became part of the Roman Empire.

The surviving fragments of the so-called *Carmen De Bello Actiaco* clearly refer to the Alexandrian war, not the Actian, but in fact *tumultus Actiacos* is mentioned in column 3.4–5/lines 23–24. Courtney stresses an Augustan date for the poem, perhaps from the *Res Romana* of Cornelius Severus or Rabirius, mentioned by Velleius 2.36.3.⁷² This is dismissed by Gurval, who holds that the role of Actium in the poem is impossible to determine.⁷³ But apart from the fragmented nature of the poem and the fact that Actium is mentioned, *Bellum Actiacum* is a typical Augustan description of the battles of Actium and Alexandria.

Velleius 2.88.1 correctly stresses *bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque*, but for him Actium was the vital battle of the war (2.84.1):⁷⁴

⁷¹ Johnson 1976, 30. Gurval 1995, 15 accepts this to be on the closing of the temple of Janus, but does not seem to see other implications. On Livy 1.19, see Ogilvie 1965, 93–95.

⁷² Courtney 2003, 334–340.

⁷³ Gurval 1995, 14. Pelling 2001, 297 observes that the modern name is wrong, as the subject is Alexandria.

⁷⁴ See Woodman 1983, 218–237 on the relative importance of Actium in Velleius.

Caesare deinde et Messala Corvino consulibus debellatum apud Actium.

Then, in the consulship of Caesar and Messala Corvinus, the decisive battle took place at Actium (trans. Shipley 1924).

And this glorious day is even more accentuated at 2.86.1: *fortuna publica*. Alexandria on the other hand gets a brief mention in the conclusion of the civil wars (2.87.1). Importantly, for Velleius there were clearly two wars.

The magistrate list in the inscribed *fasti*, several of which include headings for wars, show that the wars of Actium and Alexandria were perceived as either one or two wars. Of the *fasti* which survive for the relevant years there are headings as follows: Fasti Amiterni (Degrassi 1947, 170–1) under 32 BC stresses Bellum Acties(e) class[iarium] cum M. Antonio, under 30 BC Bell[um classia]r(ium) confect(um); Fasti Cuprenses (244–5), under 32 BC stresses [Bellum Actie]nse (entry for 30 lost); Fasti Venusini (254–5) stresses Bellum Acti(ense), under 32 BC and Bellum Alexandriae under 30 BC. This might be the result of two triumphs, suggesting two separate wars. Even though part of the ancient sources suggest one war the triumphs are difficult, since one campaign could not in principle give two triumphs.

There is a clear ambivalence towards the question of how to conceptualize the victories, as there is a single war and two triumphs. A Greek epigram of Augustan date preserved on a papyrus, in many ways sums up the story of Actium and Alexandria:

Ἄκτιον ἀμ[φιέπων, ἄνα ν]αύμαχε, Καίσαρος ἔργων
μνήμα καὶ εἰ[ϋτυ]χέων μαρτυρὴ καμάτων,
Αἰῶνος σ[τό]μασιν βεβοημένε· σοὶ γὰρ Ἄρης
π[νεύμα]τα καὶ σακέων ἐστόρεσεν πάταγον,
Εἰρήνης μόχθους εὐώπιδος ἔνθα κλαδεύσας
γῆν ἐπὶ Νειλῶτιν νίσετο γηθαλέος,
εὐνο[μίας] φόρτοισι καὶ εὐθενίης βαθυπλούτου
βρι[θό]μενος βύζην Ζεὺς ἅτ' ἐλευθέριος,
δωροφόροις δὲ χέρεσσιν ἐδέξατο Νεῖλος ἄνακτα
καὶ δάμαρ ἢ χρυσέοις πήχεσι λουομένη
ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἄδηριν ἐλευθερίου Διὸς ὄμβρον,
ἀτρεκὲς εσβέσθη δ' οὔνομα καὶ πολέμου·
χαῖρε, μάκαρ Λευκάτα, Διὸς [Κρον]ίδαο Σεβαστοῦ
νικαίων ἔργων ἐν πρυτάνευμα καλόν.

Master of Actium, sea-fighting lord, memorial of Caesar's deeds and witness of his prosperous labours; whose name is on the lips of Time, for in your honour Caesar calmed the storm of war and the clash of shields, and there he cut short the sufferings of fair Peace, and came rejoicing

to the land of Nile, heavy-laden with the cargo of Law and Order, and Prosperity's abundant riches, like Zeus the god of Freedom; and Nile welcomed his lord with arms of bounty, and his wife, whom with golden arms the river laves, received the shower, apart from stress or strife, that came from her Zeus of Freedom, and truly the very name of war was extinguished.—Hail, Lord of Leucas, one and only noble president at the victorious deeds wrought by Augustus, our Zeus the son of Cronus! (trans. Page 1942).⁷⁵

Apollo, the master of Actium and Leucas is mentioned in connection with the two victories of Octavian, with the emphasis on Actium. They bring peace and law and order, even prosperity.

Summing up, the standard perception of the war against Antonius and Cleopatra amongst scholars is that the war was declared on Cleopatra, not Antonius, and that the ideology of the regime tried to conceal that Actium was also a civil war. The war was in fact declared on Cleopatra, but the conclusion is still wrong, as the sources, contemporary and later, are in agreement that the war at Actium was indeed a foreign and a civil war. Vitally, this is also the case in the *RG* of Augustus.

⁷⁵ Page 1942, no. 113. See also Bowersock 1965, 139.

CHAPTER FOUR

ONSITE COMMEMORATIONS OF THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM

καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀκτίῳ τριήρη τε καὶ τετρήρη, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐξῆς μέχρι δεκῆρους, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ναὸν μείζω ὑποδόμησεν, ἀγῶνα τέ τινα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικῆς ἵπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν ἱερὸν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ὀνομάζουσι) κατέδειξεν, Ἄκτια αὐτὸν ποσαγορεύσας. πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνώκισε, Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δούς. τό τε χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις ἐκρηπιδώσε καὶ τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἰδρυσάμενος.

In honour of the date he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme and one each of the other sizes of warships up to ten, and he built another and larger temple on the spot. He also founded a musical and gymnastic contest, which included horse-racing, to be held every four years; the festival was to be sacred, as such celebrations are termed in which there is a distribution of food, and he named it Actia. Besides this he established a city on the ground where he had pitched his camp; this was effected by bringing together some of the neighbouring peoples and evicting others, and the place was named Nicopolis. On the spot where his tent had stood, he built a plinth of square stones, which was ornamented with the rams of the captured ships, and erected on it a statue (*hedos*) for Apollo, which was open to the sky (Dio 51.1.2–3. Trans. Scott-Kilvert 1987).¹

The important monograph by Murray and Petsas and the impressive new findings by Zachos have caused renewed interest in an almost forgotten monument: a victory monument built on a hill sacred to Apollo, overlooking the city of Nicopolis, founded by Octavian to commemorate the battle at Actium.² At the base of the hill the Actian games were situated, moved by Octavian from the old sanctuary of Apollo on the other side of the bay, to just outside his new city. One major problem in the recent scholarship on Actium is that Gurval's book on

¹ I have substituted the more accurate rendering 'statue' for *hedos* in place of Scott-Kilvert's 'shrine': see Murray and Petsas 1989, 9–12, and further below.

² Murray and Petsas 1989; Zachos 2001; 2003; 2007, vol. 1–2 on Nicopolis, Actium and the Victory Monument.

the subject, so far the only detailed monograph on the Actian ideology of Augustus, almost completely ignores this monument.³

Furthermore, as a consequence of the archaeological nature of the monument most recent scholarship has been archaeological in character, and a re-examination of this new material and the different approaches to the monument and its monumental inscription is now due. This inscription, as part of the monument, is crucial for the understanding the monument and its connections to Rome and will be used to evaluate the new archaeological conclusions and their connection to the 'Augustan' ideology. The question remains how important Actium was to Octavian, in this case exemplified by the onsite commemorations. It is time to try to give the monument its place both at Actium and in Rome, and try to recreate the early history of the Victory Monument.

4.1. *Two victory cities*

After his victories at Actium and Alexandria Octavian built commemorative cities at each site and each with the name Nicopolis ('Victory City'). The city in Egypt exists today only in the ancient evidence, whereas the city at Actium and its monuments partly survive and are also mentioned more frequently in the sources (Strabo 7.7.5–6 (324–5); Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Dio 51.1.2–3. See also Prop. 4.6.15ff; 67–70).

Both cities must be seen in the context of the Hellenistic tradition of building victory cities, which was imitated by the Romans.⁴ Alexander built the first Nicopolis to commemorate the battle of Issus and Pompeius built his Nicopolis in *Armenia Minor* after the expulsion of Mithradates from Pontus.⁵ This city seems to have been a result of synoecism: a mixed colony of veterans and natives.⁶

Dio 51.18.1 is our main evidence for the relationship of Octavian's two victory cities: the Egyptian Nicopolis, he tells us, was modelled on the already founded city at Actium, with the same name and similar

³ Gurval 1995, 66 and n. 115, 116. He is content to conclude that the area was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, not Apollo.

⁴ On the Hellenistic tradition of victory cities, see Krinzinger 1987, 112–114; Jones 1987, 99–108; Purcell 1987, 76. On the Alexander-*imitatio* of Pompeius, see Gelzer 1949, 59; Bosworth 1999; Christ 2004, 35–39, 79–80, 102, 202–203.

⁵ Jones 1987, 106, n 33 on Alexander and Strabo 12.3.28; Dio 36.50.3; App. *Mith.* 105.494, 115.561 on Pompeius. See also Jones 1937, 158, 172; Gelzer 1949, 105.

⁶ Jones 1937, 158.

games (51.1.1–2). According to Strabo the old temples at Alexandria were not properly taken care of or were eventually abandoned because of the new temples in Nicopolis (17.1.10).

There were three Roman legions stationed in Egypt after the conquest, all at Nicopolis according to Capponi, which seems to suggest the relative importance of the newly founded city.⁷ The problem is that there seems to be no contemporary evidence to support this modern view, as Strabo (17.1.12) does not mention the name Nicopolis. As for the later material, it cannot with certainty date Nicopolis, as a military camp, back to Augustan times.⁸ Strabo does mention “the city”, but that refers to Alexandria and cannot with certainty be taken to refer to Nicopolis.

At Actium Herod the Great, client king of Rome, showed his allegiance to the new regime by building most of the public buildings (Joseph. A.J. 16.146), but this may be an exaggeration.⁹ But certainly Herod would have been more than happy to contribute, being a former supporter of Antonius.

The reorganized games at the cities were *quinquennial*, equal in status to the Olympic Games (Dio 51.18.1). The games in Greece were sacred to *Apollo Actius* (Strabo 7.7.6) and the *Actia* was in fact the model for games in many other locations.¹⁰ They were instituted in 31 BC (Dio

⁷ Capponi 2005, 17–18, 20–21. See also Clauss 2004, 132–3, suggesting Nicopolis was planned as a military camp.

⁸ For the legions of Augustus in Egypt, see Speidel 1984, 317–321. According to Tac. *Ann.* 4.5 the three legions of Augustan times were reduced to two by AD 23. Alston 1995, 28 observes that later in the 1st century BC there was one legion at Nicopolis. This seems to be an interpretation of Strabo, mentioning “the city” (Alexandria), perhaps referring to Nicopolis. This is not necessarily what Strabo says. There are many references to Alexandria and the area, meaning Nicopolis, especially in inscriptions, but they are all later, from the 1st and 2nd century (see Alston 1995, Appendix 1, 2, esp. 192–193).

⁹ According to Gurval 1995, 83 Herod had to contribute, thus implying that Augustus did not think the city was that important. On Herod and Nicopolis, see Roller 1998, 228–229.

¹⁰ Reinhold 1988, 120 with scholarship and 226 on the Actian games in the Empire (Ancyra, Alexandria, Antioch, Pergamum, Iguvium in Italy and perhaps in Jerusalem etc.). See also Hekster and Rich 2006, 162–163; Tidman 1950, 123–5. Gurval 1995, 74–81 observes that there seems to be a lack of evidence for these games (78, n. 151). There seems to be a lapse from the 1st century BC because of civil war. There is a rise in the 1st century AD and a peak in the 2nd and third centuries AD. See Newby 2006, 38–39. Thus the absence of inscriptions from the Augustan period does not necessarily mean an absence of the games themselves. On the pre-Augustan games, see Habicht 1957, 102–109. Coins with the legend “Actia” are known from the 4th century BC.

51.1.3) and celebrated for the first time in 27 BC.¹¹ It is likely, but uncertain, that the day of the games was 2nd September.¹² That the games of both cities were celebrated every fifth year does suggest a connection between them.

The “sacred five-year games at Alexandria” (*ho hieros pentaetericos agon*) are referred to in two career records of the Flavian-period athletes from Naples (*IGRR* 1.445–6).¹³ These games are presumably those founded at Nicopolis, but here strikingly attributed to Alexandria; this does seem to indicate a decline in the importance of Nicopolis in Egypt. One of the victors won a lot of contests as a boy, and the Alexandrian one is described as “Ak...”, usually completed *Ak[tiakōn paidōn]* or *Ak[tiakōn ageneiōn]*. This is the only basis for supposing that the games in Egypt were Actian, but is it correctly restored? Perhaps the kappa should have been a gamma and the reading thus just *ageneiōn* (literally “beardless”)?¹⁴ Gurval is right in concluding that it does not prove the point, but if the supplement is correct, it is striking that ‘Actian’ should have turned up in this context at all.¹⁵

Surprisingly Gurval concludes that Dio 51.18.1 is most likely wrong: in his view, the Egyptian Nicopolis was founded first and formed the model for Nicopolis at Actium.¹⁶ To build a ‘Nicopolis’ is to imitate Alexander and thus try to be the new Alexander.¹⁷ Whilst in Alexandria Octavian got the idea of building victory cities. He concludes, contrary to Dio 51.18.1, that Nicopolis near Alexandria was first and most important. This wholly unsubstantiated speculation should be rejected. There is no reason to reject Dio’s testimony: Nicopolis at Actium came first.

Suetonius mentions the story that Octavian visited the body of Alexander but refused to see those of the Ptolemies, saying that he

For the later history of the Actia, which continued well into the 3rd century AD, see Pavlogiannis and Albanidis 2007.

¹¹ Hekster and Rich 2006, 163; Rieks 1970, esp. 116; Lämmer 1986, 29; Kienast 1999, 461, n. 37.

¹² Murray and Petsas 1989, 129; Lämmer 1986, 29; Strauch 1996, 161.

¹³ For text and translation, see Wallner 2001.

¹⁴ Antiochia has a category called “Aktian boys”. See Frisch 1988, 180. This is presumably modelled on a category in the Nicopolis games.

¹⁵ Gurval 1995, 78, n. 151 with the ancient testimony and modern discussions. Oddly Gurval leaves out the part of the inscription with “Ak” and transcribes Alexandria as Antiochia.

¹⁶ Gurval 1995, 73–74.

¹⁷ Gurval 1995, 67–74. Bosworth 1999, 1–18 suggests that Augustus imitated Alexander in the *RG* by stressing world conquest and apotheosis. This way all wars became foreign wars according to Bosworth.

wished to see a king, not corpses (*Aug.* 18.1; *Dio* 51.16.5). The chapter also contains information about the building of Nicopolis at Actium, imitating Alexander, whereas the Nicopolis at Alexandria is not mentioned here or elsewhere in Suetonius. The connection with Alexander is obvious, but Suetonius does show that Alexander and Actium work fine in a Roman setting.¹⁸

Nicopolis at Actium was built first according to our only source and the games at Alexandria appear to copy those at Actium, perhaps they even had the same name. But even so, they are still games in their own right, even if the games of Nicopolis in Egypt became the games of Alexandria. Clearly both cities were important to the victor.

4.2. *The new city of Nicopolis and the temple of Actian Apollo*

Μακεδόνες δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κατεπόνησαν τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις διὰ τὴν ἀπειθειαν, ὥστε τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὁρῶν ἐκλελειμμένας τελέως τὰς πόλεις εἰς μίαν συνώκισε τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν Νικόπολιν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ, ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς νίκης, ἐν ᾗ κατεναυμάχησεν Ἀντώνιον πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κόλπου καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν, παροῦσαν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ αὐτήν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Νικόπολις εὐανδρεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπίδοσιν, χώραν τε ἔχουσα πολλὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων κόσμον, τό τε κατασκευασθὲν τέμενος ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πεντετηρικὸν ἐν ἄλσει ἔχοντι γυμνάσιόν τε καὶ στάδιον, τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ ὑπερκειμένῳ τοῦ ἄλσεος ἱερῷ λόφῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχουσιν αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

In later times, however, the Macedonians and Romans, by their continuous wars, so completely reduced both Cassope and the other Epirote cities because of their disobedience that finally Augustus, seeing that the cities had utterly failed, settled what inhabitants were left in one city together—the city on this gulf which was called by him Nicopolis; and he so named it after the victory which he won in the naval battle before the mouth of the gulf over Antonius and Cleopatra, the queen of the Egyptians, who was also present at the fight. Nicopolis is populous, and its numbers are increasing daily, since it has not only a considerable territory and the adornment taken from the spoils of the battle, but also, in its suburbs, the thoroughly equipped sacred precinct—one part of it being in a sacred grove that contains a gymnasium and a stadium for the celebration of the *quinquennial* games, the other part being on the hill that is sacred to

¹⁸ See Gurval 1995, 71.

Apollo and lies above the grove. These games—the Actia, sacred to Actian Apollo—have been designed as Olympian, and they are superintended by the Lacedaemonians (Strabo 7.7.6. Trans. Jones 1924).

Nicopolis must have been settled soon after 31 BC and was perhaps dedicated in 29 BC, when Octavian would have passed Actium on his way home to Rome, as an administrative, economic and religious centre.¹⁹ It was built as a result of a forced synoecism, within a wide geographical area, from Epiros in the north to Aetolia in the south, cutting across ethnic divisions.²⁰ The *chora* of Nicopolis extended thus from the mountains of Kassopaia to the borders of the neighbouring Roman colony of Patrae in the South and from Leucas to the river Acheloos.²¹ Nicopolis was even growing after its settlement according to Strabo (7.7.6). The area seems to have suffered before the building of the new city, and the city undoubtedly changed the outlook of North-Western Greece completely. The scale and ambition were unprecedented.

According to Pliny there was a free city of Nicopolis and an Actian colony in the area, perhaps inhabited by veterans from the battle (*N.H.* 4.5):

...et in ore ipso colonia Augusti Actium cum templo Apollinis nobili ac civitate libera Nicopolitana.

The colony founded by Augustus, Actium, with the famous temple of Apollo, and the free city of Nicopolis (trans. Rackham 1942).

This is supported by Tacitus, who mentions *Nicopolim Romanam coloniam* (*Ann.* 6.5.10), but he also calls the city *urbem Achaiae Nicopolim* (*Ann.* 2.53).

Purcell and Ruscu have recently argued that Nicopolis, like Patrae, was a double community—a Greek city and a Roman colony side-by-

¹⁹ Schober 1936, 516. Strauch 1996, 91 suggests that Nicopolis had a role to play in the economic crises of the region (122). Rizakis 1997, 28 describes Nicopolis as an “economic powerhouse”. For Nicopolis in general see *Nicopolis I*; Strauch 1996, 156–184 and 156 for the size of Nicopolis (80,000–100,000); Isager 2001, and the essays in *Nicopolis I* and *Nicopolis B*.

²⁰ Paus. 7.18.9; 5.23.3; 7.18.8; 8.24.11; 10.38.4. On the cities’ dependence on Nicopolis, Strabo 7.7.5–6; 10.2.2; Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Dio 51.1.3; Zonaras 10.30; Serv. *Aen.* 3.276; *Anth. Pal.* 9.553. For the forced synoecism, see Murray and Petsas 1989, 4–5; Zachos 2003, 77, page 65 mentioning some of the cities (Ambrakia, Anaktorion and Leukas). Bowersock 1965, 93–95, points out that Romanization was never the idea behind Nicopolis. See also Alcock 1993, 133–136.

²¹ See Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou 2001, 12.

side.²² Earlier scholars accordingly have not understood the duality in cities like Nicopolis and its constitutional setting. Support for the double community hypothesis has been found from the epigraphic record. About a third of persons attested on inscriptions from Nicopolis have the Roman *tria nomina*, but this fact cannot in itself carry weight, since these persons could have been settlers or received individual citizen grants or be the descendants of such. However, Ruscu has noted the presence of four veterans all belonging to the tribe *Sergia* and has argued that this is best explained by supposing that Nicopolis was a *colonia* and attributed to that tribe.²³ Ingenious as this argument is, it can hardly be conclusive.

Support for the double community hypothesis has also been seen in an inscription from the Macedonian city of Serrhae (*CIL* III 7334 = *ILS* 2080), according to which the veteran Octavius Secundus was decurion in unnamed colonies and had been awarded the *ornamenta* of *duovir* in Actia Nicopolis and Ulpia (the inscription breaks off at that point).²⁴ Grants of *ornamenta duoviralia* are widely attested and in principle only colonies, or Roman communities, had duovirs.²⁵ But it seems not unconceivable that the Greek city of Nicopolis had acquired this status by the time of the allegedly 2nd century inscription.²⁶ Another problem is the numerous gaps in the inscription; was it well formulated in the first place and has it been accurately recorded and reconstructed?²⁷

According to Ruscu, the reason why this dual community is not mentioned in the evidence is that the colony was weaker than the Greek city and was absorbed.²⁸ This however, does not explain why the contemporary Strabo did not mention a colony, while the later Roman

²² Purcell 1987; Ruscu 2006. Further in support of the double community hypothesis see Purcell 2005, 99; Osgood 2006, 377; *contra* Doukellis 1990, 401. On Patrae (but denying the parallel with Nicopolis), see Kahrstedt 1950; Strauch 1996, 185–193. In fact this discussion on Nicopolis is not new, as Mommsen 1919, 270–273 stresses the Greek city, as the synoecism was Greek, and no Roman city was ever built that way. If was a *civitas libera* and the games were Greek. Kornemann 1901, nr. 109, 531 on the other hand criticised Mommsen and suggested Actium as *colonia Augusti Actium* (Pliny).

²³ Ruscu 2006, 253–4; cf. Purcell 1987, 88–89, 89, n. 78.

²⁴ Ruscu 2006, 250, who wrongly appears to take the word *colonis* in the inscription as applying to Nicopolis. On the date of the inscription, see Kahrstedt 1950, 560.

²⁵ *Ornamenta duoviralia* are commonly attested, see *ILS* indexes, vol. 3, 689. According to Kahrstedt 1950, 560, the wording might imply that just Ulpia was a *colonia*.

²⁶ So Kahrstedt 1950, 560.

²⁷ See also Purcell 1987, 89, n. 78; Strauch 1996, 168, n. 54 on this inscription. Both suggest that the inscription is problematic and inconclusive.

²⁸ Ruscu 2006, 254–255.

writers Pliny and Tacitus did. According to Ruscu the Romans were likely outnumbered, but would Octavian settle a small Roman colony in a huge Greek city?²⁹ And it must be remembered that in other known double communities Roman colonies had been imposed on existing cities, whereas Nicopolis would uniquely represent the founding of two adjacent cities.

Nicopolis had six representatives in the Amphictyony at Delphi, a council connected with temples, games and cults.³⁰ And importantly, Strabo and even Suetonius, the most thorough Latin source on the city, do not mention Nicopolis as a colony. Suetonius *Augustus* 18.2 writes:

Quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravat.

To extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate its memory, he founded a city called Nicopolis near Actium, and provided for the celebration of games there every four years; enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo; and after adorning the site of the camp which he had occupied with naval trophies, consecrated it to Neptune and Mars (trans. Rolfe 1951).

In fact none of the Greek sources do so, they concentrate on the synoecism. It appears to be a Greek city.³¹ Moreover, hardly any of the inscriptions of the city are in Latin (a mere 5%).³² Most important no doubt are the coins of the city: Roman colonies mint Latin coins, Greek cities mint Greek coins. The coins of Nicopolis are Greek.³³ According to Ruscu this simply means that one of the communities

²⁹ Ruscu 2006, 255.

³⁰ Paus. 10.8.3–5. He was less interested in Roman affairs, but the changes of Augustus are mentioned, like the foundation of Patrae as a colony (7.17.5; 7.18.7; 7.18.9; 7.22.1; 7.22.6; 10.38.9), Augustus and Nicopolis (10.8.3–5). See Habicht 1985, 102.

³¹ According to Serv. *Aen.* 3.501 Nicopolis was a *civitas libera* or *foederata*. See Schober 1936, 516; Murray and Petsas 1989, 4; Zachos 2003, 65; Isager 2001, 7. Jones 1987, 102 points out that since Pliny and Tacitus knew the colonies founded by Augustus they might have misunderstood Nicopolis as a colony. Alcock 1993, 133 suggests *civitas libera* but also the possibility of a dual community. The name Nicopolis does suggest a Greek city, as the other cities of Nicopolis were Greek. See Ruscu 2006, 253. The exception is Nicopolis of Pompeius in *Armenia Minor*.

³² Strauch 1996, 168. The people sitting in the Amphictyonies at Delphi were not Roman citizens (169).

³³ Burnett et al. 1998, 272–273 (plate 69); Kahrstedt 1950, 559–560; Kraay 1976, esp. 235; Tzouvara-Souli 2001, 242.

minted coins, in this case the Greek.³⁴ This seems very strange indeed, and even if accepted, it does seem to stress the Greek city more than the Roman colony.

It has been suggested that an imperial coin issue, *RIC* 1² 272, one of the “IMP CAESAR” issues produced by an Italian mint either before or immediately after Actium, which shows Octavian with laurel, ploughing with oxen, refers to the foundation of Nicopolis.³⁵ However, neither inference is conclusive, and the coin may just allude to colony foundation in general, which was of course extensive in the post-Actian period.

Looking at the Augustan colony of Patrae, this city, even if this idea of a dual community is accepted, minted Latin coins which referred explicitly to its status as colony.³⁶ Patrae’s status was clearly that of colony, whatever the status of the locals. And Strabo’s reference to Romans in Patrae (10.2.21) does not even imply non-Romans there.³⁷

The Actian games, sacred to Apollo, were presided over by the Spartans, who fought on Octavian’s side at Actium.³⁸ They were Greek games, but it seems unlikely that the Spartans would preside had there been a Roman community close at hand, as the games hardly would have excluded Romans.³⁹

Returning to Pliny, he mentions two different localities, both the free city and the Roman colony: *Colonia Augusti Actium* and *Civitas Libera Nicopolis*; Nicopolis is not called Actium.⁴⁰ The other side of the bay, close to the old sanctuary of Apollo, has never been properly excavated,

³⁴ Ruscu 2006, 252–253.

³⁵ So Ruscu 2006, 252–3. See also Kraft 1969, 11–14 (denying that Nicopolis was a colony). Gurval 1995, 58–59 prefers a post-Naulochus dating.

³⁶ Kahrstedt 1950, 559–560, also mentioning the Latin coins of Corinth; Burnett et al 1998, 258–260 (plate 63). Kahrstedt 1950, 560 dismisses that it was a Roman colony because of the missing coins.

³⁷ Brunt 1971, 599.

³⁸ Paus. 4.31.1. Bowersock 1961 on the Spartans and Eurycles, esp. 112 on the *Actia*, the fighting at Actium and the refuge of Livia to the Spartans after the Perusine war (Dio 54.7.2). The father of C. Iulius Eurycles, who had fought for Octavian at Actium, had been killed by Antonius for piracy (Plut. *Ant.* 67).

³⁹ Strauch 1996, 169 on citizenship.

⁴⁰ Mommsen 1919, 271, n. 1 believes Tacitus to be partly right in mentioning the *colonia Romana*, suggesting it was built by the Romans, not that it was a Roman colony. Pliny on the other hand he thought to be just wrong.

and it cannot be entirely excluded that there might have been a colony in that area.⁴¹

But is it not unlikely that Nicopolis would have become, with positive help from Octavian, the main centre of the area, if there had been a colony of veterans close at hand. He would hardly have moved the games of Apollo to the other side of the bay had there been a Roman colony. The supposed colony is not mentioned by any Greek writers and not by all Latin writers.⁴² Pausanias 7.18.7 mentions Patrae as a Roman colony, but not Nicopolis. The overwhelming weight of the evidence points to an at least predominantly Greek city and a Greek setting.

To sum up, the only way to rescue the statements of Pliny and Tacitus seems to be to postulate that Octavian founded not only the Greek city of Nicopolis, but also a Roman colony on the south side of the strait. Purcell and Ruscu's hypothesis of a dual identity for Nicopolis seems unconvincing, although not entirely impossible. It cannot be excluded completely, as Pliny and Tacitus are not easily dismissed. Importantly, at least the predominant city to which the Victory Monument was adjacent was Greek. Nicopolis was a Greek city.

The city at Actium was clearly connected to Apollo; the god had an old temple at Actium and the games were in his name. The games belonged to the city, the city of Apollo. The relationship between Octavian and Apollo was clearly strengthened at Actium. According to Gurval, Apollo Actius is mentioned for the first time in Latin literature in Virgil *Aen.* 8.704–5.⁴³ But Virgil started work on the *Aeneid* c. 29 BC.⁴⁴ A Greek epigram (*Anth.Pal.* 9.553), most likely of Augustan date, stresses:⁴⁵

⁴¹ Triandi 2007 on excavations in the area. Kahrstedt 1950, 560 suggest that the only possibility for a colony in the area is the south side of the strait.

⁴² Zachos 2003, 66 on the chessboard town plan of Nicopolis. But this only suggests Roman involvement, hardly Romans living there. See T.L. Donaldson's map of Nicopolis in Leake 1835a. According to Bowden 2007, 138 the streets of the town were aligned to the Victory Monument.

⁴³ Gurval 1995, 87–136, esp. 130.

⁴⁴ Stahl 1998, 71–72.

⁴⁵ Stahl 1998, 72. See also Mommsen 1919, 271. Gurval 1995, 14 n. 23 mentions the Greek evidence, the *Anth.Pal.* and a Greek literary papyrus (see Page 1942, no. 113), but his examination is in his own words limited to the Latin evidence. It seems odd to leave out Greek evidence, just because it has been less explored (see page 14). *Anth.Pal.* 6.236 mentions beaks, Actium and peace, 6.251 Apollo of Leucas and the shores of Actium, 9.553 the divine city Nicopolis that Apollo received for his help at Actium. Taken together with Page 1942, no. 113, stressing Apollo and the two victories of Octavian at Actium and Alexandria, this evidence seems very close to the ideology of the regime, stressing Apollo, victory at Actium and *pax*.

Λευκάδος ἀντί με Καῖσαρ, ἰδ' Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβόλου,
 Θυρρείου τε πέλειν, ἀντί τ' Ἀνακτορίου,
 Ἄργεος Ἀμφιλόχου τε, καὶ ὅπποσα ῥαίσατο κύκλῳ
 ἄστε' ἐπιθρώσκων δουρομανῆς πόλεμος,
 εἶσατο Νικόπολιν, θεῖην πόλιν· ἀντὶ δὲ νίκης
 Φοῖβος ἄναξ ταύτην δέχνυται Ἀκτιάδος.

To replace Leucas, and fertile Ambracia, and Thyrraeum, and Anactorium, and Amphilocheian Argos, and all the surrounding cities that the furious onslaught of war destroyed, Caesar founded me, Nicopolis, a divine city. Phoebus receives this reward for the victory at Actium (trans. Paton 1917).

At the battle of Actium the characteristic luck represented once again by Apollo seems to have given Octavian the victory over his enemies: as mentioned Apollo already had an old sanctuary at Actium (for *Apollo Actius*, see Virg. *Aen.* 8.704; Prop. 4.6.67f), situated on the peninsula called Actium, on the southern side of the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf.⁴⁶ This peninsula is flat land and thus the temple of Apollo must have been very visible from the waters outside the gulf where the battle of Actium stood.

Apollo also benefited extensively from the onsite commemorations: the old temple of Apollo was rebuilt and nearby a ten-ship monument was put up to commemorate the victory.⁴⁷ This was a so-called *dekanaia*, ten whole ships.⁴⁸ On the other side of the bay Nicopolis was founded, with Apollo as its patron god.⁴⁹ North of the city the Actian Games were refounded with theatre and stadium, at the hill sacred to Apollo.⁵⁰ This is situated just beneath the Victory Monument at the base of the hill. On this same hill a Victory Monument was built to commemorate the victory.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Kirsten-Kraiker 1967, 753 wrongly seem to believe a temple to Apollo and to Neptune was situated on the hill.

⁴⁷ On the ancient temple to Apollo, see Suet. *Aug.* 18.2. On the ten-ship monument, see Strabo 7.7.6, who mentions that this monument had burned when he visited the site. See also Prop. 4.6.15–18 on the ten-ship monument and 4.6.67–70.

⁴⁸ Zachos 2003, 65 mentions this as a very Greek monument. See also Murray and Petsas 1989, 116. Kienast 1999, 461 and n 36 seems to suggest that the ten-ship monument equals the Victory Monument.

⁴⁹ Strabo 7.7.5–6; Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Dio 51.1.2–3; *Anth.Pal.* 9.553.

⁵⁰ Strabo 7.7.6 on the moving of the games to the other side of the bay.

⁵¹ Suet. *Aug.* 18.2; Dio 51.1.2–3; *Anth.Pal.* 6.236; Prop. 4.6.15ff; Suet. *Aug.* 96.2; Plut. *Ant.* 65.3.

Apollo might also have migrated to Nicopolis.⁵² *Apollo Agyieus* was perhaps transferred to Nicopolis from Ambracia or Apollonia, most likely on the orders of Octavian.⁵³ Interestingly, a *baetyl* on the Palatine may point to this *Apollo Agyieus*.⁵⁴ Apollo remains Apollo, although worshipped under different names.⁵⁵ The coins of the city also point to the huge importance of Apollo: *Apollo Actius* is present on the coins from the foundation to the end of the functioning of the mint of the city.⁵⁶

The new city of Nicopolis at Actium was a Greek city. Actium had an old temple to Apollo, but after the battle of Actium the god became the patron god of the new victory city, because of the old temple, his role in the battle of Actium and his previous connections to Octavian.

4.3. *The victory monument and its inscription*⁵⁷

The monument is situated on the southern slope of the hill Michalitsi, close to the top, with a view of the flatlands below, towards Nicopolis.

⁵² Tzouvara-Souli 2001, 245 concludes that the god of the colonists became the protector of Octavian. But the relationship of Apollo and Octavian had existed for a long time.

⁵³ Tzouvara-Souli 2001, 243–244.

⁵⁴ Tzouvara-Souli 2001, 244; Strauch 1996, 172; Hekster and Rich 2006, 167.

⁵⁵ According to Tzouvara-Souli 2001 *Apollo Actius* and *Apollo Leucadius* seem to merge at Nicopolis. A coin from Nicopolis has a representation of *Apollo Leucadius* (243). This cult was active from at least the 4th century BC onwards. Prop. 3.11 on the connection between Actium and Apollo, here as Leucadian. The different Apollos are difficult to tell apart. See Franke 1976, 160 and Gagé 1936, 48. Against this Paschalis 1987, esp. 67. Stahl 1998, esp. 68, concludes that in Virg. *Aen.* 3.268–93 Aeneas is setting up a trophy near Actium. Isager 2007, 30 mentions the small town visited by Aeneas as the mythical forerunner for Nicopolis. Virgil then returns to the area in book 8 on the battle of Actium. Gurval 1995, 81–85 also comments on Virg. *Aen.* 3.274–80 and stresses that *Apollo Leucadius* is mentioned, not *Actius*. This is a very rigid understanding of the subject; after all in 8.704–5 it is *Apollo Actius* that intervenes in the battle and wins the day. A Greek literary papyrus, most likely ‘Augustan’, mentions the “Master of Actium” and then the “Lord of Leucas”, in both instances Apollo and in connection with the victories of Octavian at Actium and Alexandria (Page 1942, no. 113). See also Millar, J.F. 2008, 45, n. 14 on the roles of Apollo.

⁵⁶ Tzouvara-Souli 2001, 242.

⁵⁷ For a general description of the monument, see Murray and Petsas 1989 and especially Zachos 2003, 81–92, with illustration on page 69, for the newest discoveries and reconstruction. For a reconstruction of the monument, see also Murray and Petsas 1989, 85–94, illustration on page 88–89, and *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 284–287, and 307–311 for reconstructions etc. of the monument. The monument is situated in Epirus and recent years seem to have brought about a new interest in the area, also in the Roman remains.

The Ambracian Gulf lies to the left and the Ionian Sea to the right, and Actium and the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf lie more or less straight south. Even though at first the monument seems relatively isolated, the games for Apollo with theatre and stadium are situated at the base of the hill.⁵⁸ They are clearly built with this connection in mind. Perhaps Octavian took auspices on the spot before the battle,⁵⁹ most likely to Mars and Neptune, and perhaps to Apollo. The altar of the monument was probably used for sacrifices at the games.

The Victory Monument was rediscovered as recently as 1913 by Philadelphus, who thought it to be a temple. Later it was realised that this was the monument mentioned by Suetonius and Dio, first of all because of the inscription. Indeed, the first in modern times who seems to have understood that Michalitsi was the place of the tent of Octavian and thus the site of the Victory Monument was William Martin Leake.⁶⁰ The site was surveyed in the 1970s by Petsas and in the 1980s by Murray and Petsas, resulting in the 1989 volume. Since 1995 the new excavations have been carried out by Zachos.⁶¹ But importantly, Rhomaïos in 1925 was the first scholar to suggest an open-air sanctuary with rams.⁶² The monument is thus a *tropaeum*, with trophies from war; in this case rams from enemy ships.⁶³

The new excavations by Zachos on this hugely damaged monument have brought to light extremely significant new findings: he has shown that the upper terrace has an altar (measurements: 6 × 22 m.), located at the centre of the upper terrace, thus making the monument an open-air sanctuary.⁶⁴ He has found a triumphal relief and a semicircular

⁵⁸ According to Doukellis 1990, 405 the monument is isolated. Gagé 1955, 510 implies that the Victory Monument is at the base of the hill, not on Michalitsi itself. See also 1936, 75–76. Zachos 2001, 31 observes that the monument traditionally would have been on the battlefield, not as it was on the hill. The fact that this hill was sacred to Apollo both Gagé and Zachos believe is the answer. Rose 2005, 58 points out that triumphal monuments rarely were intended to exist in isolation.

⁵⁹ Gagé 1955, 509–510; Murray and Petsas 1989, 86 and n. 103.

⁶⁰ Leake 1835b, 40. For Leake as a topographer, see Murray and Petsas 1989, 12–14; Macgregor Morris 2007, 249–252.

⁶¹ Zachos 2001, 2003.

⁶² Murray and Petsas 1989, 12–21 and 22–33 on the discoveries and surveys. See also Zachos 2003, 66–67.

⁶³ On ship monuments, see Rice 1993, 242–247.

⁶⁴ Zachos 2003, 82 for the measurements. For the two terraces, see 68–69. For a reconstruction by Zachos of the altar, of course highly circumstantial because of fragmentary nature of the finds, see *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 311. For the location of the altar, see Zachos 2007, 413–414.

base showing Apollo with lyre and eleven other gods.⁶⁵ The triumphal relief is a slight problem, if the date is 29 BC, as this would have been before the triple triumph at Rome. But of course the altar, or at least the ornaments, may be later. Zachos has also found fragments of rams, armour, fasces, a ram's head and other pieces from what seems most likely to be a triumphal procession.⁶⁶ There is a triumphal chariot with two children inside the chariot; these he believes to be Alexandros Helios and Cleopatra Selene, the children of Antonius and Cleopatra.⁶⁷ This cannot be correct, as Dio 51.21.8 does not put them in the chariot but of course in front of it, as part of the triumph, together with an effigy of their mother; they were, of course, the enemy. Furthermore, Dio refers to the Egyptian triumph on 15th August and Zachos supposes the representation is of the Actium triumph on 14th August, but it still seems inconceivable that any children can have been allowed to ride with Octavian other than his own family members, in accordance with traditional practice.

The scale of the monument is truly impressive, the façade measures 63 metres; the upper terrace 62 × 50 metres, the inscription on the façade of the lower terrace should in its restored form occupy approximately 56 metres.⁶⁸ The bronze rams are even more impressive, the largest being

⁶⁵ Zachos 2003, 89, with illustrations on page 90: Apollo is shown with lyre, the Apollo of peace. See also *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 313–314. The original location on the monument of this base is unknown. See Zachos 2007, 414. According to Schäfer 2007 there might be a connection between the triumphal relief of Actium and a relief in the Casa de Pilatos in Spain, inasmuch as they show the triumph of 29 BC. The relief in Spain might belong to a group of reliefs with this particular theme, like a relief in Budapest (see also Prüchner 1980). See *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 353 for an illustration of the Spanish relief, and page 319 for a similar depiction of a triumphal chariot from the Actium relief. Even though the triumph of 29 BC seems a possibility for the Spanish relief, it does not seem conclusive.

⁶⁶ Zachos 2003, 83–91. According to Murray 2004, 9 21,000 pieces have been found, of which 1,129 display their original decoration. Rejoining the pieces correctly will be a very difficult task. See *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 299–305, 315–321.

⁶⁷ Zachos 2003, 91–92. See *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 319. According to Suet. *Tib.* 6.4 Marcellus and Tiberius participated on horseback. Zachos 2007, 425–428, esp. 428 suggests that it is Helios and Selene, even though that is historically not correct. According to Zachos the relief is only a representation of the events at Rome and does not equal reality. The children are symbols of reconciliation and *clementia*. The idea that this is a generic triumph, at least partly, seems fair enough, but who would understand the symbolic nature of the two children in the chariot? At the same time Zachos thinks that one of the people represented on the relief is in fact the *consul ordinarius* Sextus Appuleius (424–425). According to Beard 2007, 224 they are likely Julia and Drusus.

⁶⁸ Zachos 2003, 77 for the measures of the monument, and Murray and Petsas 1989, 74 for the inscription. The *vacat* is 3 meters.

a ten, meaning 10 oars on each side of the ship.⁶⁹ There is no doubt at all that the rams must have been visible from a long distance, the green colour from the bronze must have been impressive.

But for now we only have Zachos's preliminary views and descriptions. Much may thus change still; it is all down to Zachos. According to him the monument with its floral decoration is similar to that of the *Ara Pacis* and he concludes regarding the altar, which only survives in fragments and its base, that "The Nikopolis altar will be shown to be a worthy precursor of the *Ara Pacis* itself".⁷⁰

During the campaign Octavian's tent was situated on the hill, which might be the sole reason for the monument being built there. According to Strabo the hill was sacred to Apollo (no monument is mentioned). The monument itself is a terrace monument with two terraces; the lower terrace contains a monumental inscription above 36 naval rams, the upper an altar surrounded on three sides by a *stoa*. The lower terrace implies that the monument is a victory or trophy monument (*tropaeum*), the upper that it is an altar.⁷¹

The inscription

The inscription was put up on the lower terrace, above the rams. There is a huge problem reconstructing it because of missing pieces.⁷² Part of the standard reconstruction by Murray and Petsas seems very problematic, the last sentence being modelled on Suetonius, rightly so or not:

*vacat Imp · Caesa[r] · Div[i] · Iuli · Jf · vict[oriam] · consecutus · bell[o] · quod
· pro [·r]e[·]p[u]blic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e] · cons[ul] [· quintum
· i]mperat[or] · se] ptimum · pace [·] parta · terra [· marique · Nep]tuno*

⁶⁹ On the size of the rams, deduced from the size of the sockets, see Murray and Petsas 1989, esp. 41; Murray 2002; 2007. One of four rams from antiquity that has so far been found is from Athlit in Israel. The ram, from a Ptolemaic warship, is smaller than the rams of the Victory Monument, but weighs 465 kg. See *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 333–345. For the Athlit ram, see 343.

⁷⁰ Zachos 2003, 89, 92 for the quotation; Zachos 2007, 429–430. Interestingly, one of the *quindecimviri*, the priesthood in charge of foreign cults and the Sybilline books, on the *Ara Pacis*, carries an *acerra* where the tripod of Apollo is visible. Murray and Petsas 1989, 6 suggest the monument as the most important by 'Augustus' outside Italy.

⁷¹ Zachos 2003, 65 Murray and Petsas 1989, 77–85 on the *stoa*.

⁷² On the inscription and when what pieces were found, see Murray and Petsas 1989, 62–77, and n. 71 with scholarship. On the missing blocks, see page 76, n. 86. See also Zachos 2001, 33; 2003, 74–76.

[· et · Ma] rt[i · c]astra [· ex ·] quibu[s · ad · hostem · in]seq[ue]ndum
egr[essu]s · est · navalibus · spoli]is [· exorna]ta · c[on]sacravit *vacat*

Imperator Caesar, son of the Divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the *res publica* in this region, when he was consul for the fifth time and *imperator* for the seventh time, after peace had been secured on land and sea, consecrated to Neptune and Mars the camp from which he set forth to attack the enemy, now ornamented with naval spoils (reconstruction and translation by Murray and Petsas 1989, 76 and 86).

The inscription has received little attention in recent years, apart from the reconstruction itself. As mentioned Murray and Petsas have restored the last part of the inscription using Suet. *Aug.* 18.2: ...*locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit* ("the site of the camp which he had used, adorned with naval spoils, he consecrated to Neptune and Mars"). This does seem a highly optimistic reconstruction.⁷³ Zachos accepts, perhaps provisionally subject to continuing study of new finds, all of Murray and Petsas reconstructions, with one notable exception: a new block has the letters TI · NEP and thus enables us to correct the reference to the gods to [MAR]TI · NEPTUNO [QUE].⁷⁴ Mars thus needs to be placed before Neptune. The traditional reading derives from Suet. *Aug.* 18.2: *Neptuno ac Marti*.

At the outset; the inscription seems to be fairly traditional; that of a Roman magistrate. The significance of the phrases [MAR]TI · NEPTUNO [QUE], *in haec regione, pace parta terra marique* and *pro rep.* will be considered below.

The date

A further challenge for scholars today is the exact date of the inscription. It mentions that Octavian was emperor for the 7th time, which

⁷³ They thus prefer '*Consacravit*' to '*dedicavit*', as suggested by Oliver 1969, 180. See also Murray and Petsas 1989, 64–71, 76. They also prefer '*quintum*' to '*quinctum*' because of RG 8.1, 15.1, 15.3 and 21.3 (77, n. 88). Suet. *Aug.* 18.2 is trans. Rolfe 1951.

⁷⁴ Zachos 2003, 76. He was found six new blocks. Carter claimed in 1977 to have found a new block "RIT", but according to Murray and Petsas 1989, 64 this as a misreading of a block because it was turned upside down (G 15 reads "BLIC"). Carter in a review of Murray and Petsas 1991, 185 refuses this and stresses that he read correctly. What ever the answer may be, this particular block has not turned up again. Carter 1977, 228 rightly observes that no modern scholar has seen all blocks.

must be from August 30 BC, after the capture of Alexandria. Octavian was imperator for the 6th time after Actium and for the 8th time in 25 BC. There is thus a time span, because the consular date is lost in a lacuna. But importantly, the cognomen Augustus is missing and the time frame must thus be between August 30 BC and 16th January 27 BC, when he received the title.⁷⁵

Pace parva terra marique is traditionally connected to the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC. All in all 29 BC is the most suitable date, even though the evidence is highly circumstantial. Perhaps Octavian was there himself, on his way home.⁷⁶

4.4. A Roman monument at a Greek city

According to Zachos the Victory Monument at Actium is a symbol of victory and power.⁷⁷ The question arises why Octavian would decide to build a monument showing Rome's power to the Greek population of Nicopolis, as they were not the enemy. Perhaps the monument at Actium was part of the reconciliation between Greece and Octavian, as almost all cities remained loyal to Antonius. The Victory Monument with its inscription seems to illustrate this exact point: Octavian brought peace to the region. A collective punishment of Greece would have been unwise and thus was isolated to cities like Athens.⁷⁸ Nicopolis, the associated ideology apart, was a great benefaction to Greece.

⁷⁵ Rich 1996, 95–96: the 7th acclamation must be for Alexandria and not Crassus' victories, as mentioned by Dio 51.25.2 and thus after 1st August 30 BC. Schäfer 1993, 241: imperator for the 7th time, from August 30 BC to 25 BC (8th time). The consulate points to 29 BC, but *quintum* is a reconstruction and it might be *septimum* (242–243). There is the missing cognomen Augustus, thus a date before 16th January 27 (246). He concludes that the period between 11th January 29 BC (closing of the temple of Janus) and 16th January 27 BC is the time frame (247). This means there is no connection between the inscription and the Actian games, since they are later, and also no connection to the dedication of the city of Nicopolis (247).

⁷⁶ Schäfer 1993, 248; Zachos 2003, 76. See also Murray and Petsas 1989, 127–129 on the possibility of Octavian being present.

⁷⁷ Zachos 2003, 65. Hölscher 2006, 33–34 sees the monument as a symbol of universal and abstract imperialism, but then accepts it as part of the reunification of the two parts of the Empire. See also Malacrino 2007, 372.

⁷⁸ Strauch 1996, 78–79; Bowersock 1965, 90, 99 on the punishment. According to Dio 54.7.2f the punishment of Athens happened in 21 BC, which is dismissed by Strauch 1996, 79, whereas Rich 1990, 180 suggests both 31 and 21 BC are possibilities, but if 21 BC, Athens involvement with Antonius could hardly have been the reasoning as suggested by Dio. Dio 54.7 contrasts Sparta and Athens, but Athens was after all still a

If anything it gives the Greek population the glorious good news: the war is over. Traditionally scholars emphasise victory over *pax*, but in Augustan terms this discussion would have seemed odd.⁷⁹ Chapter 13 of the *RG* stresses that this peace had been won through victory; they are one and the same. As emphasised in chapter 2 and 3, Actium was also a civil war and thus peace probably appeared better than victory. The inscription does not mention the specific battle and the victory, an omission which seems strange in a Greek context, especially because Greece was not the enemy. *In hac regione* was important because it may have been impossible to get a triumph if Actium was only a battle, but again, in a Greek context this is hardly important.

According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 18.2) both Nicopolis and the Victory Monument were built *quoque Actiacae victoriae memoria celebrationis et in posterum esset* (“To extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate its memory”).⁸⁰ This is a very precise description of what Octavian did and Suetonius even mentions that the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune. Importantly, why did Suetonius mention the monument if not because the main focus and context was Roman/Rome? The Romans were meant to remember Actium, and the city Nicopolis and the Victory Monument helped to do exactly this.

In the Hellenistic world, as later in Rome, monumental trophies were often erected years after the battle and not always on the exact location of battle, often even in capital cities, like the altar of Pergamum.⁸¹ The Victory Monument is very different from the victory monument of Augustus at La Turbie (overlooking Monaco), celebrating the victory over the Alpine tribes 7–6 BC; the inscription is quoted by Pliny and has a record of all the subdued Alpine tribes (*N.H.* 3.136–138; *CIL* 5.7817). The monument at La Turbie was put up by the *SPQR*, whereas

free city (as Nicopolis) (Strauch 1996, 86). Plutarch balances this view on the punishment of Athens with the story that Octavian came to Athens after Actium to come to terms with the Greeks and to distribute grain to the population of the city (*Ant.* 68). Pelling 1988, 288 on Plutarch, who was very interested in showing the agony of Greece.

⁷⁹ See Murray and Petsas 1989, 131.

⁸⁰ Trans. Rolfe 1951.

⁸¹ Chaniotis 2005, 233–236. On Greek and Roman trophy monuments, see Hölscher 2006, esp. 27, who sees them as signs of power. According to Bowden 2007, 137 the separation of cult and the civic area is un-Roman, making the Victory Monument “reminiscent of the Classical and Hellenistic *polis*”. This is surely a misunderstanding, as this is first of all a Victory Monument and because it is on the hill because the camp of Octavian was there during the battle. It is also a very visible spot from the sea and the plains below. The town of course could not be on the hill.

the monument at Actium was not. La Turbie like the *Tropaeum Traiani* later was traditionally Roman, put up as a warning for those barbarians who had not as yet understood the new state of affairs.⁸²

The monument at Actium does seem to point to something both Roman and Greek. The terrace model seems to be both Greek and Roman, known from both Italy (Praeneste) and Greece (the Asklepieion at Kos).⁸³ Although the *stoa* might point to something Greek, altars are of course both Greek and Roman. There is most certainly an Augustan trend towards using monumental altars, as shown by the altar of Augustan Peace, the altar of *Fortuna Redux* and *Roma et Augustus* at Lyon. The battle of Actium led to a cult of naval rams, mostly in Rome. There had been rostral monuments in the city since 338 BC and all in all a Roman tradition seems most likely here.⁸⁴ But the terrace and *rostra* idea could be both Greek (*Rostra*, Diodor 17. 114)⁸⁵ and Roman. Some of the fragments found by Zachos show marks of Roman identity: a triumph and Romulus and Remus and the *lupa*.⁸⁶ But there is Greek iconography to be found as well. An Amazonomachy appears here, as on the *Apollo Sosianus* temple in Rome.⁸⁷ This might indeed be a pro-Octavian message, stressing the East-West-conflict and the war with Cleopatra. The presence of Amazons at Actium and in Augustan Rome surely must be seen in connection with the defeat of Cleopatra. All in all the conclusion already reached by Gagé in 1936

⁸² Hannestad 1988, 172–173. According to Carey 2003, 43–61, esp. 51 the list of tribes conquered “draws on the visual power of the catalogue to symbolize conquest”. The inscription is flanked by trophy reliefs. This is certainly something the Victory Monument at Actium does not do.

⁸³ Murray and Petsas 1989, 86; Zachos 2003, 69, also mentioning Praeneste and adding Tibur.

⁸⁴ Jucker 1982, 89. On Roman *rostra* see Murray and Petsas 1989, 19.

⁸⁵ Rice 1993, 242 for Hellenistic ship monuments.

⁸⁶ Zachos 2001, 38–39; 2003, 79. For the triumph, see *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 315–321, with procession, a ram, bulls, trumpets, a triumphal chariot and lictores with fasces. For Romulus and Remus with the *lupa*, see *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 302. For a reconstruction of this procession, see Zachos 2007, 411–434. The procession is typical for cult (415). There seems to have been one continuous relief on the altar, with the triumphal procession above representations of armour (418). See *Nicopolis B*, vol. 2, 311.

⁸⁷ For the Amazonomachy and the temple of *Apollo Sosianus* and the possible role of Octavian in the temple’s rebuilding, see La Rocca 1985; 1988a, 121–136; 1988b; Viscogliosi 1993, 49–54; Bertolotti et al. 1997, 65–70, illustration on page 26–27; Claridge 1998, 245–247; Haselberger 2007, 83. Zachos 2003, 83 on a marble cylindrical base for a statue with a scene of an Amazonomachy. According to Bol 1998, 145–146; Zachos 2003, 84 it is Augustan. Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou 2001, 61 point to a date under Trajan or Hadrian.

that the monument is a hybrid between Greek and Roman seems still the most likely.⁸⁸ The monument uses Greek iconography, as does the ideology of the regime in general. After all, Augustan Rome was in many aspects a Hellenistic city.

The local Greek setting of the monument should not make us forget Rome, as the inscription explains the battle of Actium in Roman/Latin terms. It is an onsite commemoration of a Roman victory and this is the reason for the monument, a victory that ended the civil wars. This is about victory, but also about freedom and peace according to the official ideology. The main thing that turns the monument into something 'Augustan' is its inscription. The use of a Hellenistic slogan "Rule over Land and Sea", but turned into the 'Augustan' slogan "after peace had been secured on land and sea", is vital.⁸⁹

Latin and Greek

There is one aspect, one paradox of the inscription that seems to have avoided attention almost completely: the inscription is in Latin.⁹⁰ The noticeable exception is Stahl in 1998, who in a critique of Gurval briefly suggests that the Latin may stress an orientation towards Rome as an alternative to the eastern perspective.⁹¹ Of course scholars know it is in Latin, but apparently this is thought unimportant and thus the question why has not so far been answered.

The inscription is not in Greek or in both languages as later the *RG* (in Galatia).⁹² There is no Greek context, although the neighbouring city is Greek. Perhaps Romans on the way to Athens were the intended readers, as one main route from Rome to Athens, by land and sea, would go from Brundisium to Leucas and the Ambracian Gulf and Nicopolis,

⁸⁸ Gagé 1936, 57–58. Murray and Petsas, 115–124, 121–124 on Octavian and *rostra*, and 92–93 on stoas in Rome and Greece.

⁸⁹ For the Hellenistic slogan of "Rule over Land and Sea" turning into an Augustan slogan, see Momigliano 1941.

⁹⁰ There is nothing on the Latin in Gagé 1936; Oliver 1969; Carter 1977; Murray and Petsas 1989; Schäfer 1993; Gurval 1995; Zachos 2001, 2003.

⁹¹ Stahl 1998, 70.

⁹² Madsen 2002, 104 rightly points out that bilingual inscriptions had two purposes, to inform the Greek population about important things and at the same time to emphasize that they were living under Roman rule. See *ILLRP* 337ff for inscriptions in Latin and Greek from the East.

and thus may explain the idea of putting up a Roman monument.⁹³ The visibility of the monument on the hilltop must also have been quite impressive.⁹⁴ Or are we even to assume that Octavian promoted the monument at Rome, in a way now lost to us, apart from the fact that it commemorated the victory onsite, something that was known and expected in Rome.

Importantly, the setting of Nicopolis and its commemorations were mentioned in Rome. Propertius mentions the monuments at Actium (4.6), perhaps even Virgil (*Aen.* 3.268–93), and the later comments by Suetonius clearly show that the Victory Monument was very well known at Rome.⁹⁵ The locality with its monuments certainly had a place in the minds of the Romans.

The inscription seems also to be somewhat unusual. An inscription in Latin much more notable in the context of Roman imperialism is found at Delphi: after his victory over the Macedonians at Pydna L. Aemilius Paullus put up a rectangular pillar monument at Delphi with an equestrian bronze statue of himself on top and with a Latin inscription:

⁹³ Cicero on his way back from Greece to Rome in 50 BC took the route from Athens to Rome via Patrae, Leucas and Actium (*ad Fam.* 16.2; 16.4; 16.6). See also Stahl 1998, 56; Isager 2007.

⁹⁴ Hölscher 2006, 33 fittingly calls this model 'landscape trophies'. He mentions Caesar's trophy at Zela and Octavian's monuments at Actium and La Turbie. They were aimed to impress. According to Tsakoumis 2007 the central axis of the monument at Actium reaches the main gate of Nicopolis. It is a landmark of reference for Nicopolis. The inscription was in marble, with letters cut deep into the marble, and then painted to 'look shiny' against the marble background, as a symbol of the golden age. They were often bronze letters, but made to look like gold. The golden letters or paint is not certain at Actium, but since there are no holes the inscription must have been painted. For the visibility of the letters of the Victory Monument, see Bringmann and Schäfer 2002, 183. The letters were 0.30 metres high. This is similar to inscriptions by Augustus: La Turbie (37cm); Inscription of Augustus in the *Forum Romanum* (26.5cm or less) and Mars Ultor temple (23cm). For this, see Alföldy 2003, esp. 11.

⁹⁵ Gurval 1995, 81 on the alleged failings in Rome to mention Nicopolis and the games. Against this Isager 1998, 403–404; 2007; Hekster and Rich 2006, 163. On page 66, n. 114 Gurval mentions that the war memorial (ten-ship monument) was short-lived, mentioning Strabo 7.7.6: it burned. Strabo does for some reason not count in Gurval's idea of Augustan Rome, because he wrote in Greek. According to Carey 2003, esp. 44–46 Pliny mentions monuments set up by Romans in the Empire and thus they form a specific link with Rome. They asset a physical connection and are at the same time landmarks in the text.

*L. Aimilius L. f. inperator de rege Perse || Macedonibusque cepet.*⁹⁶

According to Polybius, Perseus was erecting columns at Delphi and wanted to set his statues on top of them; Paullus appropriated for his own statues these unfinished columns, situated in front of the temple of Apollo (30.10.1–2; Livy 45.27.5–7; Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 28.1–2, 4). These are spoils of war, like the rams of the Victory Monument, but what springs to mind is the difference between this inscription and Octavian's at the Victory Monument. Paullus does not mention Rome and the *res publica*; he only mentions Paullus and the enemy. This is Roman imperialism, whereas Octavian stresses victory and peace, but no enemy.

This takes us to the question of who put up the inscription. Normally a Greek city or indeed any city putting up an inscription would mention that they had done so on the inscription, and a Greek city would normally have used Greek doing so, although Greek cities from time to time did put up a Latin inscription as a special gesture. Importantly, the inscription of the Victory Monument clearly states that it was Octavian who erected it.⁹⁷ He took the decision to build a monument and put up an inscription, just as he founded Nicopolis etc.

To sum up, the city seems Greek, the inscription was Roman in character and the political setting in Rome seems likely as a context. Octavian would hardly have taken such an active part if the audience were just the local Greek population. The high quality of the fragments found does also suggest that Octavian interfered. Furthermore, the construction technique used was *opus reticulatum*, a very Roman and un-Greek way of building.⁹⁸ The technique used was Roman and that makes the monument Roman. Perhaps Latin is not odd in a Greek context, but an inscription only in Latin and without mentioning the enemy makes little sense in a local context, but very much sense in a

⁹⁶ *ILLRP* 323 = *CIL* 1² 622 = *ILS* 8884. See Flower 2006, 62–63. Another example of a Latin inscription in the east is found on Samos: Claudius rebuilds a temple of Dionysus (Smallwood 1967, nr. 316).

⁹⁷ As Murray and Petsas 1989, 77, observe, it closely corresponds with inscriptions found in Rome, for example the bases of two obelisks in Rome dedicated to Sol (*CIL* VI 701 and 702).

⁹⁸ For the construction method, see Malacrino 2007. The monument at Actium is the earliest surviving example of an export of *opus reticulatum* to a Roman province (377). The technique thus shows an impact of Rome on Greek architecture and a clear sign of Roman presence. It was later taken up by local elites as a symbol of being Roman (372, 377). The same building style was used in Rome, building the Mausoleum of Augustus (378).

Roman context. This was a Roman monument for Romans, built onsite, and thus of course also given a Greek context.

4.5. *The Victory Monument and its gods*

We are faced with a conflict in the evidence over the dedicatees of the monument, creating a problem of how to resolve this. Given the usual translation of *hedos* as shrine, there is no possible way of making the two sources compatible.⁹⁹ Suetonius *Aug.* 18.2 states that the campsite was consecrated to Mars and Neptune; Dio 51.1.2–3 says that a *hedos* of Apollo was set up there. But there are possible solutions:

A): The camp was dedicated to Mars, Neptune and Apollo and Suetonius was wrong. Gagé tried to resolve the problem by suggesting that all three gods were mentioned in the inscription.¹⁰⁰ The problem is that this does not seem to be tenable, looking at the pieces found from the inscription.

B): The upper part of the monument was dedicated to Apollo, the lower to Mars and Neptune. This is contrary to Suetonius' evidence.

According to Zachos the monument functioned both as a Victory Monument and as a sanctuary to Apollo, the sanctuary perhaps being mentioned by Dio (*hedos*): the lower part with ship rams was a Victory Monument to Mars and Neptune, and the upper part a sanctuary to Apollo.¹⁰¹ In his recent article on the issue Zachos confirms that the *hedos* equals the altar to Apollo on the upper terrace.¹⁰² He observes that because the hill is sacred to Apollo as mentioned by Strabo (7.7.6) the monument must be to the same god.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ See Murray and Petsas 1989, 11.

¹⁰⁰ Gagé 1936, 70–71. Bringmann and Schäfer 2002, 183 suggest that the military character of the monument would have disqualified Apollo, but this is completely contrary to Virg. *Aen.* 8.704.

¹⁰¹ Zachos 2001, 9 and 2003, 65, 83. An almost identical idea has been brought forward by Schäfer (Bringmann and Schäfer 2002, 183), who believes Suetonius' mistake goes back to the inscription itself, not mentioning Apollo, as the lower part of the terrace was only dedicated to Mars and Neptune, the upper to Apollo. See also Isager 2007, 32.

¹⁰² Zachos 2007, 417.

¹⁰³ Zachos 2003, 82.

But this has implications too; the more the division between the lower and upper terrace is insisted upon, the more important it becomes that the dedication itself is to Mars and Neptune. Apollo most likely gave Octavian the victory at Actium and the god most certainly did benefit immensely from the commemorations at Actium, but he is not mentioned in the dedication. It must also be remembered that the two terraces were built because the ground is unstable in the area.¹⁰⁴ This does not show Zachos to be wrong, but perhaps indicates that it was not a primary intention to make the monument a dual monument, but a simple necessity. This idea seems a modern invention in order to bring together the conflicting ancient evidence.

C): The camp was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, as mentioned by Suetonius, and thus Dio is wrong. Neither Plutarch, Strabo nor Suetonius mention any *hedos* of Apollo.¹⁰⁵ This is a possible solution, as the inscription, in its reconstruction, only mentions Mars and Neptune. The hill was sacred to Apollo, the monument to Mars and Neptune.¹⁰⁶

The fragments found by Zachos show Romulus and Remus together with the *lupa* and dolphins.¹⁰⁷ Mars is of course the father of Romulus and Remus, as shown on the *Ara Pacis*, and dolphins point to Neptune.¹⁰⁸ Taking the small pieces together, Mars and Neptune are present, but so is Apollo, as Zachos has found a triumphal relief and a semicircular base showing Apollo with lyre and 11 other gods, mentioned above.

Looking at the reconstruction of the inscription by Murray and Petsas, using Suetonius, they are, as mentioned above, mistaken: instead of “Neptune and Mars”, a new block found by Zachos puts “Mars” first. Quite possibly the solution to the chosen gods and their order is the simple one that peace by land and sea, but through victory, means

¹⁰⁴ Malacrino 2007, 372.

¹⁰⁵ Murray and Petsas 1989, 87–91.

¹⁰⁶ Murray and Petsas 1989, 11–12 and 87. This is still supported by Murray 2007, 445, written after the initial publications of Zachos.

¹⁰⁷ Zachos 2001, 38–39 mentions Romulus as the first triumphator. See also Zachos 2003, 79. For the dolphins, see Zachos 2003: 79. They most likely symbolise the victory at Actium. See Malacrino 2007, 373, n. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Octavian seems to have taken over Neptune from Sextus Pompeius. App. B.C. 5.98 mentions that Octavian sacrificed to Neptune before the battle of Naulochos. See also *RIC* 1² 256, likely to show Neptune.

Mars (land) and Neptune (Sea); this is also found in Horace *Epode* 9.27 on Actium.

D): If *hedos* (Dio 51.1.2–3) is taken to mean statue the sources can be reconciled and this is in fact a normal sense of *hedos*, whereas “shrine” is hardly attested. But if so, there is still so far no archaeological evidence to support a statue of Apollo, but it must be remembered that the statues of Lucky and Victor (Plut. *Ant.* 65.3) have not been found either.¹⁰⁹

According to Dio 51.1.3 there was a *hedos* in the sanctuary, which seems to mean statue of a god in Dio. In 48.14.5–6 Dio refers to a statue of Juno which survived the sack of Perusia and was transferred to Rome in accordance with a dream of Octavian; 59.28.4 refers to Caligula’s attempt to remove the statue of Jupiter from Olympia. In both “*hedos*” is used and the meaning is clearly “(cult) statue”. There might thus after all have been a statue of Apollo on the upper part of the monument. Murray and Petsas are certainly wrong in dismissing this interpretation of *hedos*, but Dio of course may be wrong.¹¹⁰ He might have thought that not only the hill was sacred to Apollo, but also the monument itself.

If Apollo’s statue was not placed on the monument proper, there is still a further possibility. At the lowest point of the actual monument, in front the retaining wall of the lower terrace, there is a large base, which has been assumed to be an altar, but might this not be perfect as the base for a big statue, or *hedos*, of Apollo?¹¹¹

The fact that the games are Apollo’s makes a statue more likely. But perhaps it was after all a change, as the games are from 28 BC and the inscription was set up in 29 BC. It is not impossible that the monument was first dedicated to Mars and Neptune and then, when the games of

¹⁰⁹ Malacrino 2007, 379 on the statue bases that have been found on the monument. According to Zachos 2007, 413 there are three statue bases on the upper level of the monument, but one of them seems to be later than the two others. At the eastern base a fragment of a dress of a statue has been found.

¹¹⁰ Murray and Petsas 1989, 11, n. 7, also mentioning the different possible translations of *hedos*. One of their suggestions is that *hedos* can also be “seat” (n. 7). According to Zachos 2001, 37 the altar of Apollo at Amyklea near Sparta was known as the *Thronos* of Apollo. Gagé 1936, 55 and Stahl 1998, 63 and 72 are right it seems in stressing that *hedos* may indeed be a statue.

¹¹¹ According to Zachos 2003, 70–71 this structure might be a *naiskos* or *cella* with a niche for a votive statue. It may have been built after the main monument was completed (71).

Apollo had been moved, Apollo was included in the monument with a statue.¹¹²

But whatever the solution, all three gods played an important role in the area: Apollo was the main god of the victory area, Mars and Neptune are the specific dedicatees of the campsite monument, and more than one god helped achieve the victory at Actium. An ordinary general might have one divine helper; Octavian had three (Virgil *Aen.* 8.692–705 on the gods helping at Actium, especially Venus and Neptune).

One of the ways in which the Actium victory was commemorated at Rome was by making 23rd September, the birthday of Octavian, a public holiday, and we learn from the *Fasti* of the Arvals that sacrifices were made to Mars, Neptune and Apollo on that day. It was most likely because they were the gods of Actium that they received these sacrifices.¹¹³

The conclusion of Murray and Petsas seems still to stand; the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune. The sources are not impossible to reconcile, but to separate the upper and the lower part of the monument seems an oddity and even though the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, which surely connects them to the altar, there very likely was a statue (*hedos*) of Apollo on the upper terrace or in front of the monument.

4.6. *The Victory Monument and Augustan ideology*

Nicopolis was a Greek city and there might not have been a Roman colony in the area. And still we find a Roman monument with a Latin inscription. The monument at Actium was built to commemorate the victory against Antonius and Cleopatra, at the same time stressing the peace that the regime hoped would follow on from the wars. This is part of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, and at the time the inscription was put up in 29 BC the assignment had been more

¹¹² According to Jucker 1982, 97 a denarius of C. Antistius Vetus from 16 BC, with the reverse depicting *Apollo Actius* with lyre and *patera* next to an altar and standing on a raised platform, might show the monument at Actium. The platform seems to be some kind of *rostra*, with rams visible and flanked by two anchors (*RIC* 1² 365–6). This is a possibility although it is not certain at all.

¹¹³ As pointed out by Gagé 1936, 58–66, esp. 62; 1955, 512; Weinstock 1971, 209.

or less accomplished, as the civil wars were ended and the temple of Janus closed.

The monument was a symbol of this development, the rams the symbol of victory at the battle of Actium, later also used extensively in Rome. At this stage it is impossible to go further until Zachos' further publications, but more can be derived from the inscription, put up to commemorate the event of the dedication of the monument.

The three gods that helped at Actium were Apollo, Mars and Neptune. The monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, as mentioned in the inscription, but Apollo received a number of onsite commemorations and might have had a statue on the upper part of the monument or in front of it.

The battle had great implications for the wording of the inscription, and *in hac regione* is interesting because it may have been impossible to receive a triumph for a single battle. Alternatively, it was important for Octavian to justify the campaign, not just the battle. According to Murray and Petsas *in hac regione* would not have been used for the naval battle on 2nd September; instead it commemorates the campaign that ended at Actium.¹¹⁴ Similarly RG 25.2 mentions *belli quo vici ad Actium*, not *proelium* or *pugna*. But this hardly means that the inscription does not commemorate the battle on 2nd September. Of course "*bellum*" can also mean "battle", but used together with "*in hac regione*" it surely refers to the war that ended at Actium, not just the battle, but certainly not excluding it either.

Bellum is also vital, even though the monument mainly commemorates the bringing of peace, which was achieved on 2nd September, at least in the official ideology. If the date of 29 BC is accepted, after the capture of Egypt, in principle the same war, the inscription stresses that Octavian won at Actium, which brought peace to the Roman world. Actium is thus relatively more important than Egypt. Of course the inscription is set up at Actium, not Alexandria, but this is close to the information found in the RG and in the ancient evidence in general.

Pace parta terra marique is almost neutral ("peace was obtained"). It is traditionally connected to the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC and may come from the SC, in which the honour of closing the temple of Janus was mentioned, since the closing of the temple was

¹¹⁴ Murray and Petsas 1989, 138.

a decision of the Senate.¹¹⁵ Alternatively, and perhaps even likely, it was mentioned already in the despatch from Octavian to the Senate after his victory, declaring his victory. This on the other hand does not exclude the possibility that the phrase is even older (App. *B.C.* 5.130 on 36 BC and the victory over Sextus Pompeius). Importantly, the Victory Monument was erected to celebrate the coming of peace after the victory at Actium, and this was also celebrated in Rome with the closing of the temple of Janus. It gives the monument at Actium a very Roman context. Importantly, peace secured by land and sea, is secured through victory (as in RG 13).

Pro republica might point in the direction of the triumvirate, as it is close to the description in RG 2. It is also close to the *re publica conservata* on an inscription from 29 BC, found in the *Forum Romanum*, and most likely to have come from the Actian arch. And the obverse legend *Libertatis P R Vindex* on a contemporary cistophorus, whose reverse commemorates *pax*, and the *corona obsidionalis*, a military distinction given to Octavian for saving the community, pointing to the defence of the liberty of the Roman people (and close to RG 1). All this material must be seen in relation to the war against Antonius and Cleopatra.¹¹⁶ A blurring of foreign and civil war, looking at Actium and Alexandria, is evident, and the assignment of the triumvirate seems fitting. This fact also explains the relative vagueness of the inscription. No details on the enemies, but an accentuation of *pax*. The conquering of Egypt is described as a conquest in the contemporary evidence.¹¹⁷ At Actium there is no such explanation.¹¹⁸

Most Latin inscriptions of similar kind begin with the name and magistracy of the person putting up the inscription (See *ILS* 91 = *CIL* 6.701 and 702); the name is followed by the date (magistracy) and the reason for the dedication and the inscription. According to Cornell “For practical purposes the important thing to remember about Roman dates is that events were associated in the first instance with the names of

¹¹⁵ Schäfer 1993, 241 on the SC.

¹¹⁶ Rich and Williams 1999, 184–185. The parallel passages to the inscription of the Victory Monument: *re publica conservata* (inscription from 29 BC. See EJ 17). *Libertatis P R Vindex* (Cistophori. See RIC 1³, 476). *corona obsidionalis* (Pliny N.H. 22.13 and Dio 51.19.5). *IRTripol* 537: ... bello quod imp. Galba pro re publica gessit.

¹¹⁷ Fasti Prae.: [Aegypt]us in potestatem po[puli Romani redacta.] (EJ, p. 49); Fasti Arv.; Fasti Amit.; Fasti Ant. See EJ, p. 49. See also *ILS* 91 = *CIL* 6.701 and 702 (bases of obelisks in Rome dedicated to Sol).

¹¹⁸ This is also the case in the *fasti*. See Fasti Arv.; Fasti Amit.; Fasti Ant. (EJ, p. 51).

the consuls of the year in which they took place. Locating that year in any general scheme of chronology, whether Olympiads, or years after the founding of the city, or years before or after Christ, is a secondary and necessarily somewhat artificial process".¹¹⁹ The inscription of the Victory Monument begins with the name of Caesar, but then describes the victory in the war, which he waged on behalf of the *res publica*. Actium is not mentioned, but as an onsite monument this was hardly necessary, and *in hac regione* is mentioned. Then comes the date of the inscription with the mentioning of the consulship and imperator title of Octavian. The event is not the consulship, but the victory at Actium. Furthermore, Octavian does not mention the triumvirate, as he did not use the title after 33 BC. But, as mentioned above, *pro republica* does suggest the triumviral assignment, not the least when taken together with *pace parta terra marique*, stressing the result of victory. The inscription ends with the consecration of naval spoils to the gods Mars and Neptune. This is a monument for a naval victory.

This monument could have been built in Rome. It was not, but it must have been intended for Romans more than Greek locals. Of course the monument was also used in a local context, for the games to Apollo, the patron god of Octavian and Nicopolis. The personal involvement of Octavian stresses the huge importance of Actium, here exemplified by the onsite commemorations. There is a clear connection between the regime's ideology as deduced from the Victory Monument and later the RG: the stressing of the triumvirate and related to that peace obtained through victory, the description of the battle of Actium as a campaign, the difference between Alexandria and Actium, meaning the relative importance of Actium, accentuated by the date of the inscription after the capture of Alexandria, the so-called *damnatio memoriae* of the enemy and the monumentality of the inscription itself. As Zachos connected the *Ara Pacis* and the Victory Monument, it is possible to connect the inscription of the same monument with the RG and the Augustan ideology in general. At the Victory Monument the importance of the battle of Actium in the official ideology can clearly be seen.

¹¹⁹ Cornell 1995, 401. See also Feeney 2007, 14, 171.

CHAPTER FIVE

WAITING FOR CAESAR

Honours were an important part of the Roman state, and more so during the triumvirate and the Principate. They were used to negotiate between the Princeps and his subjects, showing loyalty, gratitude and support. The Princeps on the other hand had to show modesty by not accepting all, but at the same time without being ungrateful.¹ The honours given to Octavian by the Senate after the wars at Actium and Alexandria, and before he returned to the city in 29 BC, but including his triumphant entry into Rome, have oddly been seriously understudied.² They are first examined as a whole, and then particular honours with special relevance for the themes of this analysis will be given further consideration, trying to re-evaluate the honours given to Octavian after his victories at Rome, to show the importance of these victories and their connection to the triumviral assignment.

5.1. *Honouring the absent victor: Dio 51.19.1–20.5*

After having described the battles of Actium (book 50) and Alexandria, Dio turns to the city of Rome in 51.19 and the period before Octavian's triumphant return from the East.³ During this period of waiting for Caesar, from 2nd September 31 BC to his return in August 29 BC, the Senate passed a number of resolutions in honour of his victories, together with honours in relation to the diplomatic dealings with Parthia in 29 BC, 'all' listed by Dio.⁴

¹ Rich 1998, 71; Wallace-Hadrill 1982a; 1990. See also *RG* 5 and 6.

² Andersen 1938 is brief and does not attempt to look at all honours in context. He rightly stresses that the honours are not the actual decrees by the Senate, but a list by Dio. He also stresses the chronological problems in Dio (9). Similar Reinhold 1988.

³ For Dio 51.19–20, see Reinhold 1988, 146–155.

⁴ According to Reinhold 1988, 145 the Parthian settlement must be placed in 26–25 BC, preferring Justin 42.5.6–9. There is a puzzle here, with Justin and Dio appearing to talk of the same events. Concluding that it all took place in 25 BC seems a very drastic one. It is more likely that some Parthian business was transacted in 30 BC, reported

It has been argued that the lists of 51.19–20 are made with little regard to chronology.⁵ It is true that the implementations are mentioned later, in 51.20.4, but Dio does give what seems a very accurate understanding of the different honours given to the different victories (Actium, Alexandria and the Parthian settlement). The whole excursus is awkwardly inserted into the narrative of Octavian's doings, but within the excursus the various phases in the conferment of honours are in fact precisely dated, with Janus and the *augurium Salutis*, the final pair, as the exception.

The honours were explicitly in response to news from the East, most likely despatches from Octavian, clearly so for Parthia (Dio 51.20.1). Octavian may thus have been able to shape the formulation of the Senate by what he said in his despatches, as in the choice of *quinquennial* games in Rome, most likely influenced by his innovation of similar games at Actium.

The first list of honours are those related to the naval victory at Actium 31 BC (51.19.1–3); Octavian was granted a triumph as over Cleopatra, although traditionally a triumph would not have been decreed until the commander returned to Rome. Arches with trophies were erected at Brundisium and in the *Forum Romanum*.⁶ The temple of *Divus Julius* was to be adorned with rams from ships.⁷ *Quinquennial* games were instituted in Rome (RG 9.1). There was to be a *hieromeenia* on the birthday of Octavian on 23rd September and again on the anniversary of the battle on 2nd September: that is, those days were declared *feriae*, as the inscribed calendars confirm.

When entering the city Octavian was to be greeted by the Vestal Virgins, the Senate and the Roman people with wives and children. This honour was not accepted, as mentioned by Dio 51.20.4. Later Augustus continued to insist on a modest mode of return, as in 19 and 13 BC (RG 11–12), but at the same time he ensured lasting commemorations (monumental altars to 'Fortune' and 'Peace').

In this context the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius is mentioned (the monuments of Antonius are either destroyed or effaced); this came just after Actium (19.3), not in 30 BC, as mentioned by Plutarch

to the Senate by Octavian in a despatch, whose receipt prompted the final batch of honours (Dio 51.20.1). See Rich 1990, 171.

⁵ Reinhold 1988, 151; Fadinger 1969, 305–306, esp. n. 2; Andersen 1938, 20.

⁶ *RIC* 1² 267.

⁷ Frontin. *Aq.* 129.1; Dio 56.34.4.

(Plut. *Cic.* 49.6).⁸ Antonius' birthday was declared "black" (EJ, p. 45: *vitiosus*), and his kin was forbidden to use the *praenomen* Marcus (Plut. *Cic.* 49.6).⁹ There were more honours, prayers, effigies and the privilege of a front seat, but Dio does not go into detail. The "prayers" (*eukhai*) must mean *supplicationes*, certainly voted on this occasion as after all Octavian/Augustus' victories (RG 4.2, noting that these were won on "land and sea", a slogan used in connection with the battle of Actium).

Dio's second list (51.19.4–7) groups together the honours conferred after the arrival of the news of the capture of Alexandria and death of M. Antonius on 1st August 30 BC, noting that Cicero's son was suffect consul at the time. Dio opens this list with the vote of crowns and *hieromeniai*. The latter must here be *supplicationes*, with Dio carelessly switching his terminology. The reference to crowns may be a generalization from the vote of the *corona obsidionalis*, mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.* 22.13). Pliny reports that the crown was granted on 13th September 30 BC, and perhaps this was the date when all this batch of honours was voted. The *corona obsidionalis* ("siege crown"), a military distinction given to Octavian for saving the community, was originally presented to a soldier who saved a whole army.¹⁰ Its significance now is clarified by the decree, mentioned soon after by Dio, that the anniversary of the capture of Alexandria should be a "lucky day", that is *feriae*. Calendars report that this was decreed because on that day Octavian had liberated the *res publica* from the gravest danger (EJ, p. 49).¹¹ It was this saving of the *res publica* which had earned Octavian his "siege crown".

For the victory Octavian was voted a further triumph, over the Egyptians. Dio stresses that Antonius and other Romans fighting against Octavian were not mentioned because this would have been improper: there was no need to stress the civil war. According to Dio (19.6), the date of Alexandria's capture was also to mark the "beginning of the

⁸ According to Plut. *Cic.* 49.4–6; *Ant.* 86.5 the '*damnatio memoriae*' was in the consulship of Cicero's son (13th September 31–31st October 30 BC). Dio records it being before the death of Antonius in 30 BC, Plutarch after, but Plutarch seems to have used the death of Antonius as a dramatic counterbalance to the injustice against Cicero. Dio seems more credible. See Andersen 1938, 35–36; Babcock 1962, 31; Fadinger 1969, 247, n. 2; Reinhold 1988, 147.

⁹ See Suerbaum 1980, 327–334 on Antonius and Oakley 1997, 567 for such bans in general.

¹⁰ See Weinstock 1971, 148–152.

¹¹ The same honour was given under similar circumstances to Caesar in 45 BC. See Weinstock 1971, 148–152.

reckoning”, that is, a new era. It is uncertain whether Dio means a new era for Egypt or for Rome as well.¹² If Dio meant Rome, Octavian rejected the honour, as we have no knowledge of it.

Octavian was offered the *tribunicia potestas* for life, and the right to give aid within the *pomerium* and up to a mile outside (Dio 51.19.6), but he probably declined. From 23 BC he was in possession of the powers of the tribune and the fact that Augustus later reckoned his *trib.pot.* from 23 BC confirms that he received it then. The alternative view is that Octavian accepted just the *ius auxilii* in 30 BC.¹³ He had already been given the *sacrosanctitas* of the tribune in 36 BC.¹⁴ According to Dio 49.15.5 he also then received the *ius subsellii*, the right of a seat on the tribunes’ bench in the Senate. Dio adds that he should protect all who would call upon him for help, also up to one mile outside the *pomerium*. This none of the tribunes could do. Torelli has pointed that the *Ara Pacis* was placed exactly one mile from the *pomerium*, where the oldest tradition placed the momentous transition of the magistrate’s power from the *imperium militiae* to the *imperium domi*. This is a symbol of the peaceful *imperium domi*.¹⁵ It was time to work for Rome in peace.

He was also to judge appeal cases and have a vote like Athena’s in all courts (Dio 51.19.7). This most likely meant that he was the final court of appeal, or an alternative court with direct primary jurisdiction.¹⁶ This was something new and as a triumvir Octavian seems to have had to do with jurisdiction only indirectly. This would have been an opportunity for Octavian to show his *clementia* (RG 3.1): There need

¹² See Bell 1934/1971, 285, n. 1; Reinhold 1988, 149.

¹³ Rich 1990, 169 argues that Octavian did not accept the tribune’s power of helping citizens (*auxilium*) in 30 BC, as this is hardly separable from the rest of the powers of the tribune. The classic statement of this view, see Last 1951/1969. Against this, see Andersen 1938, 25–28; Reinhold 1988, 229–230; Pelling 1996, 68–69.

¹⁴ App. B.C. 5.132; Oros. 6.18.34. Contrary to this Dio 49.15.5 stresses that he accepted the *sacrosanctitas* of the tribune. Augustus mentions both in RG 10.1. See Reinhold 1988, 149–150 and 229–230 for the development of the powers.

¹⁵ Torelli 1982, 29–30.

¹⁶ Reinhold 1988, 150–151. Millar 1973, 59–61 observes that the information in Dio is “notoriously puzzling”, but later the Princeps did exercise jurisdiction (259). This is rejected by Bleicken 1962, 72–73; 1990, 47. Against this Rich 1992, 113 pointing out that the silence of the sources should not be pressed; and if they did not conduct jurisdiction it might be because they were too busy. A new study by Ramsey suggests that the triumvirs did not exercise routine juridical authority in Rome because it was not necessary; a third of all jurors in every trial were loyal Caesarians. Octavian did not need to exercise this authority (2005, 20–37, esp. 36–37).

not be a clear connection between the jurisdiction and these acts of *clementia* (RG 34.2), but the jurisdiction as mentioned by Dio seems to suggest the same as *clementia*; it was time to move on after the period of civil war. This is further supported by the vote of Athena: Caesar's vote as Athena's in the Areopagus at Athens should be decided by Octavian; he should decide on the question of acquittal.¹⁷ Even if Dio is wrong here, he paints a picture of the returning victor, extending his *clementia* to Rome.

The section ends with the ruling of the Senate that priests and priestesses were to pray for Octavian, as well as the Senate and people, and at all public and private banquets a libation was to be poured to him (Dio 51.19.7).¹⁸ The honour of pouring a libation to Octavian was implemented and became a long-lasting practice, as the evidence of Horace and Petronius shows (*Carm.* 4.5.31–36; *Sat.* 60). Marius had been honoured in the same way, but spontaneously, not by Senate decree, as an expression of the popular belief that he had saved Rome from the Gauls (Plut. *Mar.* 27.5).¹⁹ Likewise Octavian saved Rome from grave dangers.

Book 51.20.1 also mentions the oath taken on 1st January 29 BC to ratify the acts of Octavian.²⁰ It approved the acts of Octavian, and was taken on 1st January, as also later during the Principate (Dio 53.28.1; 57.8.4–8). This oath in fact took place every year from 42 BC.²¹ The return to normality is evident.

¹⁷ Cary 1917, 55. Reinhold 1988, 230 is critical towards Dio on this.

¹⁸ This has been linked with the discussion of emperor cult and cult to the *genius* of the emperor, but cult to the living emperor in Italy was not dedicated to his *genius*, but to himself (Gradel 1992; 2002a, 77–81). See Taylor 1931, 216–223 with the traditional view on *genius*. In Dio this is not perceived as cult, as he dismisses this in 51.20.8. According to Gradel 2002a, 207–212, esp. 209 the libation is connected to the private household *lares* and was performed to the emperor himself. But the libation mentioned in 51.19.7 is public and decreed by the Senate. Lott 2004, 106–117 stresses that there was no worship of the *Genius Augusti* in the neighbourhoods. If not to the *genius* of Octavian this story might suggest cult to a living person.

¹⁹ Flower 2006, 88–89.

²⁰ According to Reinhold 1988, 151 “these measures were voted at this time” might refer to the honours in 51.19.5–7, but they may also include 51.19.3 on the ‘*damnatio memoriae*’ of Antonius. This is wrong and the reference is clearly to 51.19.5–7. Dio's chronological indications are quite explicit. On the acts and 1st January, see Reinhold 1988, 151–152. The oath was taken every year from 42 BC and during the Principate. See Rich 1990, 163–164.

²¹ App. *B.C.* 2.106.

Dio then turns to the Parthians (51.20.1–3). He is referring back to 51.18.2–3 and a diplomatic success gained with King Phraates of Parthia during 29 BC. On receipt of his despatch, the name of Octavian was included in public hymns equally with the gods, although Dio seems vague here and this might just refer to the *carmen Saliare*, as mentioned in RG 10.2. Dio has an apparent tendency in this section to allude to specific grants with vague plurals, as with crowns mentioned above. The hymn of the *Salii* may originally have been designed to ensure the safety of Rome at war; the safety of Rome was thus connected to the safety of Augustus.²² This is obvious in the RG; chapter 9 mentions the festival to the health of Augustus, chapters 11–12 are about the safe return of the Princesps (from Syria and Spain). According to Taylor this did place him on a par with the gods.²³ Without Octavian this would not have happened, there would be no security and no peace (RG 13).²⁴

A tribe was to be called 'Julian', but this was not accepted by Octavian.²⁵ A similar honour was earlier voted to Caesar (Dio 44.5.2), but not implemented.²⁶ The tribal membership was included with full nomenclature, and thus if one of the 35 tribes had been renamed in this way, it would certainly have been attested epigraphically.

Finally there was the honour of wearing the triumphal crown at festivals, not just at the triumph itself.²⁷ Like the name *imperator* this shows the ever victorious Octavian.²⁸ The senators who participated in the victory were to be part of the triumphal procession dressed in *toga praetexta*. The day Octavian entered the city should be honoured with sacrifices by the whole people (Dio 51.21.1–2). This day was to

²² Brunt and Moore 1967, 52.

²³ Taylor 1931, 236.

²⁴ The ending of the civil wars would never have happened without Augustus (RG 34.1). The *clupeus virtutis* in RG 34.2 stresses the virtues of Octavian/Augustus. They are the virtues that saved Rome from civil war and grave dangers according to the Senate and Augustus. These virtues are not the four cardinal virtues of Greek philosophical thought on kingship. According to Norena 2001, 152–153 no canon of imperial virtues exists.

²⁵ Reinhold 1988, 152.

²⁶ Weinstock 1971, 158–162.

²⁷ Rich 1990, 162. In 36 BC Octavian was given the right to wear the laurel crown at all times (Dio 49.15.1) and in 29 BC the right to wear the gold crown and perhaps the rest of the triumphal dress at all festivals. This was later extended to New Year's Day (Dio 53.26.5).

²⁸ The *proenomen imperatoris* seems to go back to the *ovatio* after the peace of Brundisium 40 BC. See EJ, p. 33 (Fasti Triumphales). See also Kienast 1999, 48.

be holy forever according to Dio, but there are no references to it in the calendars on 13th of August and thus it must have been declined. Octavian also received powers to name priests, although this may be a slight exaggeration.²⁹

In 51.20.4 Dio then reports that Octavian accepted all but a few of these honours. As mentioned Dio stresses that the welcome of all the people on returning to Rome was declined by Octavian; this might have been a special case, as it would have had to be declined in advance to stop it happening.³⁰ In other instances there might not have been an explicit refusal, just non-implementation. It might indeed be that Dio only knew that a decree was passed, not whether it was implemented.³¹

Finally Dio lists the honours that pleased Octavian the most, the closing of the temple of Janus and the holding of the ancient *augurium Salutis*. This may suggest that the foremost example of the *res gestae* of Octavian in the official ideology was not the victory, not the triumph, but the ending of the war and the bringing of peace, as part of the triumviral assignment.

The honours given to Octavian after the victories over Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium and Alexandria were numerous and accentuate both the great importance of both victories and of Octavian, the provider of victory and peace after civil war, and hopefully, most likely not exclusively on an ideological and political level, the bringer of normality to the *res publica* after turmoil. The ideology gave the Romans something they wanted: peace—peace after civil war.

²⁹ According to Reinhold 1988, 152 Dio is talking about the 3rd century. But it is not at all sure why that has to be the case. Stepper 2003, 33, 42, 117 traces this power back to Caesar and suggests that there were no limitations to it.

³⁰ Andersen 1938, 20–21 suggests that the reason was that Octavian did not arrive after the battle of Actium, but surely this could easily have been postponed.

³¹ Rich 1998, 78–79. According to Andersen 1938, 9–23 Dio's lists of Senate decrees, conferring honours on Caesar and Augustus, come from a special work recording *senatus consulta*. It is more likely that it came from earlier annalistic historians, his main sources. This source may have been primarily concerned with recording the conferring of the honours, not the issue of implementation. See Swan 2004, 21–23; Rich 1998, 78.

5.2. *Victory festivals*

'Feriae'

This section will focus on the honours that sought to establish permanent commemorations of the victories at Actium and Alexandria through festivals. The anniversaries of both battles were made *feriae*: 2nd September for Actium and 1st August for Alexandria, and in addition Octavian's own birthday, 23rd September, was declared *feriae* in honour of the Actium victory (Dio 51.19.2, 6).

Actium's special importance was emphasized both by the double celebration and by the link with the leader's birthday. Earlier the birthday of Caesar had been celebrated in public and the 4th *Eclogue* of Virgil, RG 13, and the calendar of the province of Asia tells the story of a period obsessed with 'Messianic' birth.³² The conclusion was for all to see: without the birth of Octavian/Augustus there could be no peace. Naturally, as his reign progressed, celebrations accumulated on this most important of days.³³

The *feriae* are well attested on the inscribed *fasti*. The *feriae* on 2nd September are recorded on four *fasti* (Degrassi 1963, 505; EJ, p. 51). The fullest entry, on the Fasti of Amiternum, reads:

Fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod eo die Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Divi f(ilius) Augustus apud Actium vicit se et Titio co(n)s(ulibus).

Public Holiday by decree of the senate because on this day Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of the Deified, won at Actium when he and Titius were consuls (translation in Cooley 2003, C31).

Numerous *fasti* record the *feriae* on 23rd September for Augustus' birthday, and the notice in the Arval Fasti goes on to mention sacrifices to Mars, Neptune and Apollo:

³² Weinstock 1971, 211 for the public celebrations on Caesar's birthday. Regarding Augustus, see Kienast 1999, 215 and n. 41 with sources and scholarship. See Coleman 1977 on the 4th *Eclogue*, Degrassi 1963, 512 on the Fasti of the Arvals and EJ 98 on the new calendar of Asia Minor based on Augustus' birthday (9 BC).

³³ Rüpke 1995, 403; 2001, 189–190 with a list. The *Ara Numinis Augusti* at Narbo AD 12/13 celebrated the birthday of Augustus (EJ 98a). See Suet. *Tib.* 26. And these celebrations did take place all over the empire, see Weinstock 1971, 210. This idea of the 'fall' and recovery makes Augustus seem indispensable. See Wallace-Hadrill 1982b, 25; Feeney 2007, 112–113.

F(eriae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) ma[x(imus)] natus est. Marti, Neptuno in Campo, Apo[l]lini ad theatrum Marcelli (Degrassi 1963, 512; EJ, p. 52).

Public Holiday by decree of the Senate because on this day Imperator Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, was born. To Mars and Neptune in the Campus, Apollo at the theatre of Marcellus.

The temples named were all in or near the Circus Flaminius, the temple of Apollo having been recently rebuilt by C. Sosius. The notice may indicate, as has usually been supposed, that the temples were assigned this day as their new dedication festival, but alternatively, as Gradel has argued, it may just record the institution of an annual sacrifice at these locations, probably in 30 BC.³⁴ In either case, as we noted in the previous chapter, the selection of divinities clearly reflects the association with the Actium victory of these three gods, who also shared in the dedication of the Victory Monument at Nicopolis. Apollo, Mars and Neptune were together honoured as authors of the great victory both at the site and through these ceremonies at Rome.³⁵

The *feriae* on the anniversary of the capture of Alexandria on 1st August are recorded on four inscribed calendars. Three give full notices. The Arval Fasti entry reads:

Feriae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), [q(uod) e(o) d(ie) Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilii) rem pu]blic(am) tristiss(imo) p[e]riculo [libera]vit (Degrassi 1963, 489; EJ, p. 49).

Public Holiday by decree of the senate because on that day Imperator Caesar, son of the god, liberated the republic from the gravest danger.

The *fasti* of Praeneste and Amiternum have very similar entries (and so enable lacunae on each to be restored). Here, as for other *feriae*, the *fasti* cite the reason for the celebration, evidently from the original senatorial decree. However, unusually, instead of simply specifying the occasion, a broader formulation is used: on this day Augustus had

³⁴ Gradel 2002a, 131. For the view that the notice records new *natales* for the temples see most recently Haselberger 2007, 138–41. The Fasti Palatii Urbinatis also record the celebration on 23rd September at Apollo's temple, but adds other temples: Felicitas in the *Campus Martius*, and Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina in the *Circus Flaminius* (that is, the temples in the Porticus Octaviae). Curiously, the entry for Augustus' birthday in the Fasti of the Arvales was only added in the second edition, after Augustus' election as *pontifex maximus* (cf. Rüpke 1995, 46–47).

³⁵ So rightly Gagé 1936, 58–66, esp. 62, and 1955, 512; Weinstock 1971, 209. See also Murray and Petsas 1989, 90.

freed the *res publica* from the gravest danger, that is, from domination by Cleopatra and her treacherous henchman Antonius.

Once again, there were comparable observances at Rome and on the victory site: the calendar of Egypt was reordered to start on 1st August.³⁶ As Augustus' reign progressed, the *Kalends* of August became a day of increasing prominence in the regime's celebrations. From 8 BC it opened the month which bore his name. The senate's decree of that year renaming the month *Sextilis* in his honour includes among the reasons for the choice that in that month Egypt was conquered and the civil wars were brought to an end (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12.35 = EJ 37).³⁷ The next year, 7 BC, saw the overhaul of the administration of the city of Rome, and 1st August was fixed as the day when the new boards of annually appointed *magistri vici* should enter office. In Gaul, the altar of Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum which provided common cult for the three provinces formed from the region conquered by Caesar had been dedicated on 1st August 10 BC, and the principal annual celebration at the sanctuary was thenceforth held on that day.³⁸

Thus the Alexandrian festival continued to have great importance in the calendar, while Actium's association with Augustus' birthday in fact had the consequence that the battle itself came to have somewhat less significance in calendar terms. However, at the outset, although both victories enjoyed calendrical celebration, it was Actium which had pride of place, through its double celebration and its linkage with the imperial birthday itself.

Quinquennial *games*

According to Dio 51.19.2 games were to be held at Rome, *quinquennial* as the games at Actium, but *pro salute Caesaris* in Rome; they did not survive Augustus, as they were linked to his *salus*. At Actium they were still held in late antiquity.³⁹ RG 9.1 states clearly:

³⁶ Capponi 2005, 28. Even though 1st August is important, Augustus waited till 29th August to declare himself ruler of Egypt, as this is New Year's Day. See Rehak 2006, 79.

³⁷ See also Dio 55.6.6; Suet. *Aug.* 31.2; Livy *Per.* 134; Swan 2004, 67–68.

³⁸ The *magistri vici*, see Lott 2004, 81–127, esp. 85. Lugdunum, see Rich 1993. However, the dedication day of the temple of *Mars Ultor* was not as some suppose, 1st August, but on 12th May, see Rich 1998, 83–85.

³⁹ Gurval 1995, 80–81.

Vota p[ro salute mea susc]ipi p[er cons]ules et sacerdotes qu[in]to qu[o]que anno senatus decrevit. ex iis] votis s[ae]pe fecerunt vivo m[e] ludos aliquotiens sacerdotu]m quattuor amplissima colle[gia, aliquotiens consules.

The senate decreed that vows should be undertaken every fifth year by the consuls and the priests for my safety. In fulfilment of these vows games have frequently been celebrated in my lifetime, sometimes by the four most distinguished colleges of priests, sometimes by the consuls (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).⁴⁰

According to Dio 53.1.4–5 the festival was decreed in 31 BC after the battle of Actium and first held in 28 BC (*RG* 9.1; Suet. *Aug.* 44.3).⁴¹ Similar games were voted for Caesar in 44 BC (pentaeteric); they were *pro salute Caesaris*, but were never executed.⁴² Most likely the games of 28 BC, the first of this kind to be held at Rome, were prompted by the re-foundation of the games at Actium. They were thus partly Greek games, as *quinquennial* games were common in the Greek world.⁴³ The games were celebrated by the consuls and the four most important priestly colleges in turn.⁴⁴ The games are known from 16 BC and AD 9.⁴⁵

Weinstock and Gurval try to minimize the connection between these games and Actium. Weinstock's theory is that all honours of 'Augustus' were modelled on earlier honours of Caesar, thus stressing those

⁴⁰ Following Brunt and Moore, but reading *salute* (with Scheid 2007, 9, 41–2) rather than Mommsen's *valetudine* (the lacunose Latin text can otherwise be restored from the Greek version). The games in *RG* 9.1 must be those held in 28 BC: so Taylor 1931, 155; Gagé 1955, 512–513; Hekster and Rich 2006, 165, n. 83. Gurval 1995, 121, n. 80 stresses that Augustus makes no connection between the vows or the games and Actium. But the fact that the games in *RG* 9.1 are every fifth year, as the games at Actium makes the connection likely, especially because games like that were new at Rome.

⁴¹ On these games see Hekster and Rich 2006, 165; Weinstock 1971, 310–317; Reinhold 1988, 146; Gurval 1995, 120–123. According to Weinstock 1971, 311 they were decreed 30 BC, which is clearly a mistake.

⁴² Weinstock 1971, 310. Dio 53.1.5 states they were held “for some time”. The text is corrupted but this is the most likely reconstruction of the text. See Rich 1990, 133.

⁴³ Rich 1990, 133; Hekster and Rich 2006, 165. Suet. *Nero*. 12.3 on the *Neronia* stresses they were the first Greek games in Rome. This is likely to mean that they were the first full style Greek games in Rome. See Newby 2006, 40–41.

⁴⁴ Dio 53.1.5. See Hekster and Rich 2006, 165. The four colleges were the Pontifices, who had general responsibility over Roman religion, Augurs with the responsibility over divination, *septemviri* and banquets to Jupiter and *quindecimviri*, the custody of the Sibylline books.

⁴⁵ Dio 54.19.8; *RIC* 1² 369 (aureus by C. Antistius Vetus); *CIL* 6.877a on 16 BC and Pliny *N.H.* 7.158 on AD 9.

games.⁴⁶ Gurval mistakenly confuses the *quinquennial* votive games with the games to Jupiter for Augustus' safe return on his departure from Rome, vowed in 16 BC and held in 13 BC on Augustus' return. Furthermore, Gurval observes that the *quinquennial* games mentioned by Dio 51.19.2 are not specified; there is no name or character of the festival mentioned.⁴⁷ But since they were *quinquennial* and since they were mentioned in the list of honours "presented" to the victor after the battle of Actium, as stressed by Dio, his does seem a rather odd conclusion. Furthermore, it seems natural to assume that Apollo was the god honoured at these games, as at Actium.⁴⁸

5.3. 'Damnatio memoriae': dishonouring Antonius

According to Dio the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius took place before his death, after the battle of Actium (51.19.3–5): this involved the tearing down or effacing of the memorials of Antonius, declaring his birthday (14th January) *dies vitiosus* and forbidding the use of the surname Marcus by any of his kin. The birthday is mentioned in the Fasti Verulani: [V]itiosus ex (senatus) c(onsulto). Ant(oni) natal(is).⁴⁹ As shown already Antonius was never actually declared a *hostis*.

Looking at '*damnatio memoriae*' in more general terms, the ideas put forward by Hedrick on the Late Roman Empire will here be used on the Augustan age: Antonius was not mentioned by name, but this to dishonour him, not at all to forget him.⁵⁰ According to the traditional view on '*damnatio memoriae*' Hedrick is wrong.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Weinstock 1971, 310–317. On page 315, n. 9 he holds (on Dio 53.1.4): "Dio cannot be right in asserting that they commemorated the Actian victory".

⁴⁷ Gurval 1995, 120–123, believing the games to be Roman.

⁴⁸ Hekster and Rich 2006, 165.

⁴⁹ Degraffi 1963, 159. See also Weinstock 1971, 209. Later during the reign of Claudius it was restored (Suet. *Clau.* 11.3).

⁵⁰ Hedrick 2000, chapter 4: "Remembering to forget" and esp. 114. The phrase *memoria damnata* is ancient and is referring to a posthumous prosecution or conviction of a person charged with treason. See Hedrick 2000, 94; Vittinghoff 1936, esp. 12–13, 21; Flower 2006. Dio 51.19.3 makes it clear that the Senate had a say in the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius. Champlin 2003, 29–30 looks at the '*damnatio memoriae*' of Nero, where the destruction of monuments and statues were more a question of the chaos after the murder of Nero; this had nothing to do with a public mandate.

⁵¹ Davies 2000, 38: "Unlike the Greeks, however, who recorded an act of destruction in public decrees so that it should become an exemplum to all, the Romans appear to have aimed at total eradication of memory, inasmuch as it was possible". For the idea

Most likely the first erasure for political reasons in Rome was in fact Antonius in 30 BC.⁵² But there seems to have been no standard system of penalties.⁵³ The *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, although later (AD 20), is a useful case of reference; lines 73–75 mention the ‘*damnatio memoriae*’ of Piso.⁵⁴ Surely the SC and the fact that the inscription was to be copied in the empire, mentioning the ‘*damnatio memoriae*’, shows that the objective was to remember the dishonoured Piso. In fact the erasure was only ordered on the inscription on the statue of Germanicus dedicated by the *Sodales Augustales* on the *Campus Martius*.⁵⁵

Looking at the epigraphic evidence the names of Antonius and the *Antonii* were erased on the *Fasti Consulares* in 30 BC, before Octavian’s return to Rome, at a time when the Senate had no reason to believe that this was a decision that Octavian would disagree with. Later a restoration was carried out, which must have occurred after Octavian’s return to Rome in 29 BC.⁵⁶

The alternative occasion is the disgrace of Antonius’ son Iullus Antonius in 2 BC, for his part in the adultery case of Julia.⁵⁷ According to Velleius he was a remarkable example of the *Clementia* of Augustus (2.100), even letting him marry Marcella, his sister’s daughter. Apart from Antonius’ eldest son Antyllus, who was killed, the other children were brought up by Octavia (Plut. *Ant.* 87.1). In the end Iullus Antonius was forced to commit suicide in 2 BC. But vitally, according to Tacitus *Ann.* 3.18 the name of Marcus Antonius and his son Iullus still remained in the records.

that Antonius should not be mentioned, see Syme 1939, 275; Scott 1933, 43–44; Grant 1972, 198. Woodman 1983, 212 rightly stresses that it is odd not to mention Antonius and at the same time make him the slave of Cleopatra.

⁵² Vittinghoff 1936, 20–21. He mentions M. Claudius Marcellus in 42 BC, but that was in Athens (20–21). He dismisses M. Manlius Capitolinus (23). See also Flower 2006, 48–51. In the Greek city states the erasure of names from inscriptions can be traced back to the 6th century. BC, see Flower 2006, 18–41. On the Hellenistic period, see Bayliss 2006.

⁵³ Flower 2002, 208; 2006, IX. Sumi 2005, 3 stresses the destroying of the homes of the enemies of the state, for example Cicero (*Dom.* 101).

⁵⁴ For the text, see Eck, Carballos and Fernández 1996. See also Flower 1998, 23–31, 56–59.

⁵⁵ Flower 2006, 135.

⁵⁶ Johnson 1976, 141. See also Woodman 1977, 123 on 2.100.4; Flower 2006, 116–121.

⁵⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.241; 4.44; Vell. 2.100; Dio 55.10.15.

The Fasti Triumphales were perhaps put up around the time of the ‘erection’ of the Parthian arch.⁵⁸ But there is no sign of erasure of the name of the *Antonii* on these *fasti*; the erasure and restoration must have happened before the inscription of the Fasti Triumphales.⁵⁹ Why in 2 BC erase the name only in one of the *fasti*? The incident involving Iullus Antonius seems too small a matter for a ‘*damnatio memoriae*’.⁶⁰ Taylor did concede it might be an unauthorised action.⁶¹ But an unauthorised intervention by the Senate in 2 BC seems much less likely than in 30 BC.

A reason for making the association with Iullus Antonius is the belief that the Fasti Consulares were inscribed on Augustus’ arch set up after the victory over Parthia.⁶² The Parthian arch is late (20 BC) and thus Dio’s information about the honours given to Octavian after Actium cannot be right, so the only alternative is Iullus Antonius.⁶³ But this does not have to be so; it is only a problem if there was no Actian arch, but as will be shown in chapter 6, there most likely was. According to Taylor there was insufficient time for constructing an arch between September 31st and November 30th BC, but surely it cannot be discounted as a possibility.⁶⁴

There is no literary evidence to support the erasure of the *Antonii* from the *fasti*; Tacitus says Augustus did not allow it (*Ann.* 3.18), Plutarch and Dio only mention the throwing down/wiping of Antonian monuments. The setting suggests that the erasure happened just after Actium.

Chapter 24 of the *RG* might help in understanding the ‘*damnatio memoriae*’ of Antonius in its Augustan context, although it must be remembered that none of the adversaries of Augustus are mentioned by name in the *RG*.⁶⁵ The non-mentioning of Antonius is thus part of

⁵⁸ Nedergaard 2001, 119, no. 35.

⁵⁹ Johnson 1976, 140.

⁶⁰ See Johnson 1976, 138–163, esp. 141 and 162 with criticism of Taylor 1946, 3–6; 1950, 94. The Fasti Aventini inscribed in 2 BC has the *Antonii* intact, but that does not tell when the ‘*damnatio memoriae*’ did happen.

⁶¹ Taylor 1946, 6.

⁶² Taylor 1946; 1950; Nedergaard 2001.

⁶³ Nedergaard 2001, esp. 119–121.

⁶⁴ Taylor 1950, 93–95; Nedergaard 2001, 120. Against this Johnson 1976, 143.

⁶⁵ According to Flower 2006, 117 the reason behind this is that Augustus had no desire to commemorate civil war. This is absurd because the inscription does mention civil war (*RG* 3.1; 34.1). She does not engage with the theory of Hedrick and thus misses the point that they were not mentioned by name, but on purpose, to stress

a general omission, but everybody reading between the lines must have recognised that Antonius is not mentioned by name, not to forget him but to dishonour them. *RG* 24.1 reads:

In templis omnium civitatum provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui quae spoliatis templis is cum quo bellum gesseram privatim possederat.

After my victory, I replaced in the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia the ornaments which my late adversary, after despoiling the temples, had taken into his private possession (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

Ridley, as already mentioned, believes that *is cum quo bellum gesseram* has undone years of propaganda, as the enemy is a man (2003, 125). Even though Ridley is right in principle, this was never a mistake by Augustus; this was ‘*damnatio memoriae*’ (as *RG* 1.1).

The chapter is datable since Octavian is termed victor, the context showing it most likely to be Actium. It might relate to his return from Asia in 30/29 BC, but the victory must surely refer to Actium, mentioned in *RG* 25.2.⁶⁶ The wrongs of Antonius, the unmentioned adversary, are put to right by Octavian, giving back temple ornaments to the rightful owners. Furthermore, Augustus mentions that he had statues of himself in Rome melted down and put the money gained to use, by giving golden offerings to Apollo, the patron god of Octavian and helper at Actium. Octavian thus thanked Apollo for the victory at Actium. No doubt the statues of Octavian in Rome were an embarrassment for Octavian, but the setting in the *RG* is the wrong-doings of Antonius.⁶⁷

RG 24 is the last chapter of the *impensae* section of the inscription; the first chapter of the *res gestae* proper on wars is *RG* 25, mentioning Actium (25.2). The adversary in *RG* 24 is surely the same as in *RG* 25. All contemporaries most have known or at least suspected that Antonius is the person mentioned here. In fact there would hardly be

their dishonouring. Everybody knew who they were and that it was a civil war: that was the whole idea.

⁶⁶ Asia Minor in chapter 24 is the only instance in the *RG* where provincials are mentioned, where it is not stressing the recovery or conquest of the Roman state, but this is not about Asia Minor, but about Antonius. In fact even Italy is often left out. See Brunt and Moore 1967, 3–4.

⁶⁷ According to Pausanias Octavian himself did remove the statue of *Athena Alea* after Actium; Pausanias also explains that the Romans had done it before and the Greeks as well, plundering Troy (8.46.2–4).

any point referring to this person if nobody knew who it was (*RG* 1.1). And the reader is helped by Augustus, who mentions the battle of Actium in *RG* 25.

The result of the '*damnatio memoriae*' is clearly visible in the sources: Antonius is not mentioned by name. This seems later to have changed and Antonius is mentioned in book 8 of the *Aeneid* (685). Often the influence of Cleopatra over Antonius is stressed in the sources, but Cleopatra is not there to substitute for Antonius, but to disgrace him even more.⁶⁸ Importantly, although the evidence does show a decision of the Senate, this changed at Octavian's arrival at Rome and the restoration of the name of the *Antonii* in the *Fasti Consulares*. Similarly, the non-mentioning of Antonius in the evidence was not a formal decision.

5.4. *The temple of Janus*

Having mentioned that Octavian accepted all but a few of the honours presented to him (*Dio* 51.20.4–5), *Dio* adds that the closing of the temple of Janus pleased Octavian the most. The function of this small rectangular temple in the *Forum Romanum* was, in the words of *Livy* 1.19.2, to be an *index pacis bellique* (*Varro L.L.* 5.165; *Livy* 1.19; *Pliny N.H.* 34.33).⁶⁹ The temple was in bronze with two side walls and double doors at each end; in the middle of the temple there stood a statue of Janus. The location of the temple is unknown.⁷⁰

Together with the closing of the temple of Janus *Dio* mentions the *augurium Salutis*, another seemingly ancient rite revived by Octavian and/or the Senate in 29 BC. It was an augural rite connected to the ceasing of war and preparations for war amongst the Romans, asking the gods for the posterity of the *salus populi Romani*. *Dio* 37.24.1–3

⁶⁸ *Hor. Epode* 911ff; *Dio* 50.5.3; *Plut. Ant.* 60.1; *Serv. Aen.* 8.678; 696. See Woodman 1983, 212–213.

⁶⁹ So in *Procopius bell. Goth* 1.25. For Janus as an ancient temple, see *Livy* 1.19; *Plut. Numa* 20; *Ovid Fasti* 1.258; *Pliny N.H.* 34.33; *Sen. Apocol.* 9; *Dio* 89.13; *Serv. Aen.* 7.607. On the different names of Janus, see *Platner and Ashby* 1926, 278–279.

⁷⁰ For the statue of Janus, see *Macrobian Sat.* 1.9.10; *Pliny N.H.* 34.33. *Platner and Ashby* 1926, 279–280; *Richardson* 1992, 207–208; *Tortorici* 1996, 92–93; *Haselberger* 2002, 148.

mentions it in the context of civil war.⁷¹ Dio is the only source for a pre “Augustan” date. Perhaps it is no coincidence that, according to Dio, it was last performed in 63 BC, the year of the birth of Augustus, in the consulship of Cicero, the year of the conspiracy of Catilina.⁷² After all Augustus is the great model emperor for Dio.⁷³ The ritual was, similar to the closing of the temple of Janus, intended to demonstrate that the state was at peace. According to Ovid *Salus* and *Janus* together with *Pax* and *Concordia* were worshipped together on 30th March (*Fasti* 3.881–82).⁷⁴

The temple of Janus is thus used in the Augustan era to mark phases of peace/pacification. Similarly to Livy 1.19.2 Augustus writes (RG 13):

Ianum Quirinum, quem clausum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum, priusquam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit.

It was the will of our ancestors that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; from the foundation of the city down to my birth, tradition records that it was shut only twice, but while I was the leading citizen the senate resolved that it should be shut on three occasions (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

This is stressing *pax*, but *pax* through victory. According to Varro (*L.L.* 5.165) there were two closings prior the age of Augustus, first by the supposed founder of the institution Numa and then after the First Punic War in the consulate of T. Manlius (235 BC). Varro mentions the historian L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, cos. 133, as the source, excluding the idea that Octavian created all of the ideology of the closing, and suggesting that it went back to the Punic Wars:

et ius institutum a Pompilio, ut scribit in annalibus Piso, ut sit aperta semper, nisi cum bellum sit nusquam; traditum est memoriae Pompilio rege fuisse opertam, et post T. Manlio consule, bello Carthaginiensi primo confecto, et eodem anno apertam.

⁷¹ Suet. *Aug.* 31.4; *CIL* 6.36841. See Reinhold 1988, 153; Latte 1960, 140, 298; Kienast 1999, 80; Sumi 2005, 214–215.

⁷² See Kienast 1999, 93, n. 47. The name is also close to *auctoritas*, so prominently mentioned in RG 34.3. Against a connection see Erkell 1952, 9–39.

⁷³ Rich 1990, 17; 1989, 102 on the model emperor.

⁷⁴ Sumi 2005, 214–215; Palombi 1996, 91–92.

And the custom was established by Pompilius, as Piso writes in his annals, that it should always be open unless there was no war anywhere. Tradition records that it was closed during Pompilius' reign and later when T. Manlius was consul at the end of the First Punic War, and it was opened in the same year (trans. Forsythe 1994, no. 15, page 453).⁷⁵

In Livy the warlike Romulus and the peaceful Numa are contrasted.⁷⁶ Numa built the temple of Janus; it was "*clausus pacatos circa omnes populos*" (19.2), closed when all people around were pacified. A connection with Romulus as found in the *Fasti Praenestini* (EJ, p. 45) and Servius (*Aen.* 1.291) is an alternative possibility.⁷⁷ Furthermore, there is a tradition that the temple was in existence when Titus Tatius and the Sabines attacked Rome (Macrobius 1.9.17–18), or that it was erected as the result of the battle (Ovid *Fasti* 1.258–276; Serv. *Aen.* 1.291; 8.361).⁷⁸

The closing of the temple in 235 BC is odd because of the year and the consul mentioned; surely the closing ought to be 241 BC and the ending of the First Punic War, but the tradition mentions T. Manlius not A. Manlius, the consul of 241 BC.⁷⁹ According to Wissowa it was in fact about T. Manlius and his wars against Sardinia and Liguria.⁸⁰ Livy stresses the conclusion of the First Punic War (1.19.3: *post Punicum primum perfectum bellum*), but since the written evidence all point to T. Manlius, the consul of 235 BC, the year 235 BC was perhaps exceptional. It is hard to believe that the closure of the temple was delayed to 235 BC.

The importance of Numa in the Augustan period is also visible from an *as* issued by Cn. Calpurnius Piso in 23 BC, depicting both Numa and Augustus.⁸¹ It must though be remembered that the *gens Calpurnia*,

⁷⁵ See also Kienast 1999, 223; Rich 2003, 331–332. For the period before Augustus, see Forsythe 1994, 185–193.

⁷⁶ Levene 1993, 134.

⁷⁷ The name *Quirinus* (RG 13) associated Janus with a native Italian god of war. Quirinus was also assimilated to the deified Romulus from the 3rd century. See DeBrohun 2007, 259.

⁷⁸ See Wissowa 1912, 103–104; Platner and Ashby 1926, 278–280; Ogilvie 1965, 93–94; Brunt and Moore 1967, 54–55; Tortorici 1996, 92–93.

⁷⁹ Varro *L.L.* 5.165; Livy 1.19; Vell. 2.38.3.

⁸⁰ Wissowa 1912, 104. Vell. 2.38.3. Forsythe 1994, 190 connects the triumph of T. Manlius in 234 BC and the First Punic War, but a lapse from 241 to 235/234 BC seems very long indeed.

⁸¹ *RIC* 1² 390–93. See Galinsky 1996, 34–35. In 48–49 BC the elder Piso, cos. 23 BC, minted coins with Numa and Apollo, and an issue in honour of Pompeius (*RRC*, 446/1, 334, 346).

and thus Cn. Calpurnius Piso, the man who made this coinage, did take their name after Numa's son Calpus. But this special relationship and vested interest in the matter does of course not suggest that the Janus tradition cannot be traced back to the Punic War.⁸²

Ennius is another source on this matter, if he is indeed talking about the temple of Janus.⁸³ Skutsch has taken the known date of 241 or 235 BC and then placed the Ennius fragment in that particular context, which at the outset does seem fair.⁸⁴ Ennius writes:

Postquam Discordia taetra Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit (225 Skutsch 1985).

After hideous Discord had broken open the iron-clad doorposts and gate of war (trans. Cloud 1993, 134).

Discordia most likely points to civil strife.⁸⁵ The description is later echoed by Virgil *Aen.* 1.293–294 mentioning the “gates of war” and stressing civil war. The same goes for Horace, *Satires* 1.4.60: both quote Ennius.⁸⁶ Servius (*Aen.* 7.622) does mention Ennius as the source of the quotation by Virgil. Thus it seems fair to suggest that Ennius was in fact talking about the temple of Janus. This suggests knowledge of the function of Janus in the 2nd century BC, but perhaps the triumph of T. Manlius is less convincing in a setting of civil war. Vitally, Ennius was talking about the opening of the temple in time of war or civil war, not the closing of it in times of peace.⁸⁷

⁸² According to Wiseman 2004, 161 the closing of Janus may be a 3rd century invention, Numa creating the legendary precedent. Harris 1979, 190–191 points out that Varro's mention of Piso must mean that the use of the temple of Janus as a means of describing war and peace is not an Augustan invention.

⁸³ Skutsch 1985, 402.

⁸⁴ See also Cornell 1986, 245. He points out that the middle pentad of Ennius' *Annals* was about war (249), thus perhaps explaining why 235 BC could have been exceptional if there was indeed no war. See also Forsythe 1994, 191–192; Latte 1968, 847 on Ennius and Janus.

⁸⁵ Cic. *Leg.* 3.9; Virg. *Ecl.* 1.72f for *discordia* and civil strife. See Cloud 1993, 134; Weinstock 1960, 44–58, 45. The opposite of *discordia* is *concordia*, but also *pax*. According to Rosenstein 2007, 232 the Romans did not use the term *pax* for reconciliation after civil war, but *concordia*. But *concordia* is not used in the *RG*, civil war and peace are.

⁸⁶ Horace is much more difficult since the setting is not history or myth, but the moral justification of the genre of Satire. See Brown 1993, 127.

⁸⁷ Similar Virg. *Aen.* 603–606 is about the opening, not the closing of the temple of Janus. But of course this relates to foreign and civil war, as the closing is about civil war, the opening about foreign war. See also *RG* 13. On Virgil, see Fowler 1998, esp. 162.

One possibility, of course, is that the absence of closings from 235 BC to 29 BC may suggest that the ideology of closing the temple was not generally recognised.⁸⁸ Another is that the temple only became a symbol of peace with Augustus, even though some sources stress war (keeping war imprisoned) more than peace.⁸⁹ Perhaps the year 241 BC was exceptional; there was always war and thus no closings.⁹⁰ The three decreed closings under Augustus (RG 13) of course do suggest that behind the closing there was no idea of a lasting peace. Varro (*L.L.* 5.165) does not mention the word ‘peace’, but says that the gate was always open except when there was no war anywhere: “*ut sit aperta semper, nisi cum bellum sit nusquam*” (“that the gate should always be open except when there was no war anywhere”) (trans. Kent 1938).

Summing up, the stressing of the peaceful side of the temple of Janus, the mentioning of peace not war, seems an Augustan invention. The first closing does seem mythical; the second on the other hand is certainly historical. Whether the closing was 241 or 235 BC it is impossible to say, even though 241 BC and a certain connection with the First Punic War seems the more likely candidate.

Octavian's first closure of the temple of Janus

Dio 51.20.4–5 does not say when the temple was closed, but although vague, he does imply that it was closed before the return of Octavian.⁹¹ The entry of the *Fasti Praenestini* for 11th January states:

...d[ebellavit imp. Caesar Augustus tertium] ab Romulo et Ianum c[lausit se V et Appuleio cos.]

⁸⁸ Ogilvie 1965, 93–94; Kienast 1999, 223; Wissowa 1912, 104.

⁸⁹ Wissowa 1912, 101 on Italy and 104–105 on an Augustan origin of the index of peace. He rightly holds that the Augustan poets are stressing the imprisonment of ‘peace’ or ‘war’, see Ovid *Fasti* 1.281; Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.255 (peace). Virg. *Aen.* 1.293ff; 7.607 (war). One problem with Ovid is that there seems to be a contradiction between keeping wars imprisoned (*Fasti* 1.123–124) and keeping peace imprisoned (1.281), but according to Green 2000, 302–309 the subject ought to be *populus* not *pax*.

⁹⁰ Harris 1979, 191, n. 1.

⁹¹ On the first closure of Janus on 11th January, see Syme 1939, 303, 1978, 25; Reinhold 1988, 153; Kienast 1999, 80. On Janus in Augustan literature, see DeBrohun 2007.

[...Imperator Caesar Augustus for the third time] since Romulus closed Janus [when he himself for the fifth time and Appuleius were consuls] (E), p. 45; translation from Cooley 2003, 47).⁹²

This text seems to suggest that Octavian closed the temple himself which is at the outset impossible given the date, since Augustus returned to Rome on 13th August 29 BC.⁹³ One problem is that the right side of the stone is lost. The mentioning of Janus, Romulus, and Augustus, the new Romulus, could be panegyric, and Verrius Flaccus, the ex slave and tutor of the grandchildren of Augustus, might have been taking active part in developing the ideology of Augustus. While there are problems with 11th January it has been generally taken to be 29 BC (as restored in the *Fasti Praenestini*), on the basis of the clear implication in Dio's narrative that it took place before Octavian's return.

Livy might also suggest a personal role for Octavian when stressing "*clausus fuit... ab imperatore Caesare Augusto*" (1.19.3). Suetonius (*Aug.* 22) cannot be taken to indicate that Octavian performed the act himself and neither can Horace (*Odes* 4.15.9). Perhaps the implication in Livy, Suetonius and Horace is that his achievements led to the closure.

Orosius (6.20.1ff) is very strange indeed, but perhaps there is method in the madness. The central point to be made must be that the epiphany of Christ (6th Jan.) belongs together with peace. This is a normal Christian use of the reign of Augustus, a positive figure because of the birth of Christ and because of *pax*, whether the peace of Augustus or Christ.⁹⁴ The victory of Augustus and peace is thus connected to the victory and peace of Christ.⁹⁵ He also dates the triple triumph and the name Augustus to 6th January.

The evidence is not conclusive, and it is difficult to deny completely the possibility that Octavian performed the closing of the temple of Janus in person. But perhaps the most likely date is 11th January 29 BC, before his triple triumph and before Octavian returned to Rome. Alternatively, 11th January 28 BC is a possibility; Octavian would be there in person, but this would be a long delay from the victory over Egypt. Livy *Per.* 133 states after the triple triumph of 29 BC Octavian

⁹² The *Fasti Praenestini* can be dated AD 6–9, see Beard, North and Price 1998, vol. 2, 64.

⁹³ On Octavian closing the temple, see Forsythe 1994, 192.

⁹⁴ See Hardie 1998, 21 and n. 56.

⁹⁵ See Rich 2003, 356. See also Erskine-Hill 1983, 27–38 for the early Christians stressing the Augustan age as a period of peace.

ended the civil war in its twenty-second year, meaning 50 BC, or, from 49 BC, the year Caesar crossed the Rubicon, meaning 28 BC. Of course this is only the summaries of Livy, not Livy himself. 29 BC still seems more appropriate, but not certain. If 28 BC is accepted the date of the Victory Monument at Actium could change to that year as well, but does not have to, as the slogan *pace parva terra marique* may have been used the SC or the despatch from Octavian after the victory. But whether 29 or 28 BC, it is very puzzling why the date should be 11th January.

The most probable scenario is thus that the Senate decreed the closing, as stated in the RG, after the victory over Antonius and Cleopatra in 31 or 30 BC. The inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium might indicate that the closing was for Actium and the decision taken before Alexandria, because of the use of *pace parva terra marique*. Livy 1.19.3 on the other hand cannot with certainty be used to show this; Actium is often used to describe the whole war against Antonius and Cleopatra.⁹⁶ Even so, naval victories and Janus had been connected in the Roman past, as C. Duilius dedicated a shrine to the god in thanks for his naval victory over Carthage at Mylae 260 BC (Tac. *Ann.* 2.49). And if the inscription at Actium is dated to 28 BC, the result might be the same; Actium was the vital battle, and thus the use of the slogan correct, but the job was only done with the conquest of Egypt in 30 BC. 29 BC seems appropriate because of the triumph, but it is odd that they did not wait till Octavian arrived. On the other hand, it would then have coincided with the triumph.

Returning to the RG and the ideology of Augustus, the context of RG 13 is interesting. In Chapter 11 and 12 two altars are decreed by the Senate, the altar to *Fortuna Redux* 19 BC and the *Ara Pacis* 13 BC. In both instances the setting is a decree on Augustus' return to the city of Rome.⁹⁷ Peace is named after Augustus in chapter 12 (*Ara Pacis Augustae*). Importantly, the chronology of the RG is relative; the

⁹⁶ Against this Herbert-Brown 1994, 189.

⁹⁷ On these returns, see Halfmann 1986, 115. He acknowledges that Augustus does not talk about "Sinn und Zweck seiner Provinzreisen" (115), but mentions that they are *honores* given to Augustus because of these travels. This is of course right, but the implications in the RG are different. The setting is about *honores*, but also religion. The idea of Gardthausen 1896 I, 806–807, also found in Syme 1939, 331–332, and in Halfmann 1986, 16, that *Abwesenheit* von Rom was good, because of the political climate, and *Anwesenheit* in den Provinzen was good because of clients etc, may be right, but the RG cannot be used to strengthen this argument, as implied by Halfmann 1986, 16, 21. According to Clark 2007, 8–9, *Pax* may not have received public cult in Rome before the *Ara Pacis*, thus stressing a clear change during Augustan times.

closing of Janus comes first in chronological terms but last in the *RG*, after the two altars (*RG* 11, 12). In fact Janus is the god of ‘comings’ and ‘goings’, apart from being an index of war and peace.⁹⁸ There is thus a distinct movement from war to peace in these chapters of the *RG*, similar to the field of Mars turning into the field of peace.

In *RG* 13 Augustus stresses the tradition that the closing of the temple of Janus goes back to the founding of Rome. In many ways Numa is more appropriate than Romulus; Cicero and Livy clearly show a peaceful Numa, but perhaps he is too peaceful, since Octavian had just won a triple triumph like Romulus.⁹⁹ Perhaps this is the reason why Augustus did not mention the name of the founder of the temple; perhaps the flexibility suited him. And vitally, under Augustus it was decreed to be closed three times, versus two in Roman history.¹⁰⁰ In the end this was more important than the legendary past.

The first time the slogan “*pace par̄ta terra marique*”, used in connection with the closing of the temple of Janus, is mentioned in surviving Latin texts is the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium, even though App. B.C. 5.130 makes it likely that the slogan was used after the victory over Sextus Pompeius 36 BC. With all probability the phrase was used in the despatch from Octavian to the Senate or the SC of the Senate. *Terra marique* is a Hellenistic slogan, but together with *pace par̄ta* it first appears under Octavian.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Forsythe 1994, 187.

⁹⁹ Cic. *Rep.* 5.3; Livy 1.19.

¹⁰⁰ For the second closure following Augustus’ Spanish campaign 25 BC, see Dio 53.26.5; Oros. 6.21.11. According to Syme 1989, 115 Janus was opened on Augustus’ departure for the East. As pointed out by Rich 1998, 73; 2003, 355–356 it would then surely have been closed on his return, and this would not have gone unreported in the evidence. Instead it might have been shut until his departure for Gaul 16 BC. See Weinstock 1960, 48. Regarding the discussion of two or three closings of the temple, see Rich 2003, 332 and 355–356. The last closure is of uncertain date. Rich argues plausibly that there may not be a third closing, and that it remained open till the reign of Nero (356). Importantly, even though Suet. *Aug.* 22 mentions three closures, *RG* 13 only mentions that it was decreed three times. Oros. 6.22.1 has the shrine closed in 2 BC (the nativity of Christ), but this is Christian fiction. Against this Syme 1984, 1179–1197. Later Nero in 64 BC to celebrate his tenth year as emperor and at the same time the fiftieth year of the consecration of Augustus issued a series of coins, one with the legend: *Pace P.R. Terra Marique Par̄ta Ianum Clusit S.C.*, also minted to celebrate the peace with Parthia. See Champlin 2003, 140. See *RIC* 1² Nero, 50–51 etc. See Champlin 2003, 308, n 92 on the Nero coins with this legend. Augustus was clearly renowned as the bringing of peace.

¹⁰¹ For the use of the slogan in context, see Momigliano 1941, 53–64: For the Hellenistic slogan of “Rule over Land and Sea” turning into an Augustan slogan, see 62–63. See also Ogilvie 1965, 94. See also Schuler 2007 on an inscription from a village in

What seems to have happened is that the Hellenistic slogan of “Rule over Land and Sea” was turned into the “Augustan” slogan of “*pace parva terra marique*”. Universal rule became universal rule and *pax*. The closing of the temple of Janus seems to be a reinvention of Augustus. The slogan and especially the focus on peace, not war (as Ennius and Varro), is the great difference. Furthermore, the connection between the closing of the temple and the *augurium salutis* was a novelty. The closing itself most likely happened in 29 BC, before Octavian returned to Rome, perhaps on 11th January. Importantly, the closing of the temple of Janus must be connected with the triumviral assignment and the ending of the civil war.

5.5. *The triple triumph of 29 BC*

The single most important written evidence concerned with the triumphs of Octavian is Dio, first of all because of its length. The triple triumph of Octavian was held on 13th to 15th August 29 BC, the first day as a result of the victory over the Dalmatians, the second representing the naval battle of Actium and the third the victory over Egypt (Dio 51.21).¹⁰² As noted already the triumphs of Actium and Alexandria were among the honours decreed in Octavian’s absence (Dio 51.19.1, 5). There is a clear ambivalence towards the question of how to conceptualize the victories, as there was a single war, but two triumphs; but having decreed Octavian a triumph after Actium, the

the territory of the Lycian city Myra, where Augustus is honoured as a god and as *ges kai thalasses epoptes* (‘overseer of land and sea’). The title is already attested in other honours for both Pompeius and Augustus. See also Syme 1939, 30 (‘warden of earth and sea’). On Octavian/Augustus see Schuler 2007, esp. 398–400.

The parallel sources for the slogan in connection with the closing of the temple of Janus are Livy 1.19, RG 13 at already quoted (*terra marique*, see also RG 3 and RG 4), Suet. *Aug.* 22: *Ianum Quirinum semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum in multo brevioris temporis spatio terra marique pace parva ter clusit* (“The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been closed but twice before his time since the founding of the city, he closed three times in a far shorter period, having won peace on land and sea”). Trans. Rolfe 1951. See also Sen. *de Clementia* 1.9.4; *Apocolocyntosis* 10.2; *Laudatio Turiae* 2.25. In the *Apocolocyntosis* Seneca talks about ending the civil wars and the peace following, mentioning *Janus Pater* in 9.2. Rich 2003, 331–332, stressing that coins with *pax* from Italian and Eastern mints belong to the same time (RIC 1² 252–253, 476). See also Weinstock 1960, 47.

¹⁰² On the triumphator in general, see Weinstock 1971, 60–71. On the triple triumph of Octavian, see Syme 1939, 303; Kienast 1999, 76.

Senate could hardly have failed to decree him another after the capture of Alexandria. Furthermore, Octavian did not have to accept, but chose to go ahead and celebrate two triumphs for one war. The triple triumph is mentioned in *RG* 4.1:

Bis ovans triumphavi et tris egi curulis triumphos et appellatus sum viciens et semper imperator, decernente pluris triumphos mihi senatu, quibus omnibus supersedi.

I celebrated two ovations and three curule triumphs and I was twenty-one times saluted as *imperator*. The senate decreed still more triumphs to me, all of which I declined (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

It should be noted that *RG* 4.2 mentions *terra marique* and thus the connection between the closing of the temple of Janus (*RG* 13) and the triumphs of Augustus was there for all to see; the result of these victories on land and sea is *pax* (see also *RG* 3.1).¹⁰³

One interesting issue is the postponement of the Illyrian triumph. It was initially postponed in 35 BC because the Dalmatian campaign was still to follow (Dio 49.38.1). After this time Octavian did not spend much time at Rome, although a good possibility to hold the triumph would have been his one-day consulship in 33 BC (Dio 49.43.6). But at this point in time it perhaps seemed better to wait, since Octavian must have known at this point that larger things were to come. The importance of this triumph might be found in a relief from the temple of *Apollo Sosianus*, most likely showing a triumph against Germanic people.¹⁰⁴

Romulus celebrated three triumphs, prominently mentioned on the *Fasti Triumphales*.¹⁰⁵ This would also explain why Augustus declined all triumphs after Alexandria (*RG* 4.1); although he did carefully mention that he was saluted as *imperator* 21 times. Furthermore, it should also be remembered that Augustus stopped campaigning in person after the Cantabrian wars in 26–25 BC, and it would then have been an anti-climax to celebrate triumphs for victories won by legates fighting

¹⁰³ Pliny *N.H.* 15.133–135 stresses the significance of the triumphal laurel and explains its links with Apollo and a symbolic connection to peace.

¹⁰⁴ La Rocca 1985; 1988a, 121–136. See also Claridge 1998, 247. Bertolotti 1997, 70–71 for an illustration of the relief. For the general tendency to underestimate the Dalmatian triumph, see Östenberg 1999, 159.

¹⁰⁵ Degrassi 1947, 64–65, cf. 534. See Hickson 1991, 137 on the three triumphs.

under his auspices (RG 4.2). The campaign in Spain in the end had to be finished by Agrippa in 19 BC.¹⁰⁶

It is hardly surprising that the battle of Actium was felt to be sufficiently external to qualify for a triumph (see chapter 3). Valerius Maximus clearly states that a triumph in a civil war was not possible (2.8.7). This does not mean that Actium and Alexandria were not part of a civil war, and as already observed there was a blurring between foreign and civil war. To hold a triumph after a civil war was in fact nothing new. Caesar celebrated a triumph over King Juba, but even though he did not parade an image of Pompeius in his triumph, the suicide of Cato and others were dragged along as visual images. However, Caesar's final triumph, following his defeat of Pompeius' sons at Munda in 45 BC, was over wholly civil opponents.¹⁰⁷ And as already mentioned Decimus Brutus was decreed a triumph after Munda, even though this was a civil war.¹⁰⁸ The surprise surely is that Octavian accepted the decreed separate triumphs for Actium and Alexandria. This attaches great significance to the battle of Actium, earning a triumph though not finishing the war.

Turning to the triple triumph, they were the first triumphs to be celebrated on three consecutive days; Caesar's first four triumphs had been within one month, but with intervening days (Suet. *Div. Iul.* 37.1). Furthermore, the RG, Suetonius (*Aug.* 22) and all other sources distinctly mention three triumphs and not a multi-day triumph, as celebrated earlier.¹⁰⁹

The *Fasti Triumphales*, which very likely adorned the Actium Arch in the *Forum Romanum* clearly suggests that Octavian triumphed on 13–15th August 29 BC, although the *Fasti triumphales* Barberini mistakenly omits the triumph of Actium (Degrassi 1947, 86, 570; 344–345 for

¹⁰⁶ Carter 1982, 114, 197.

¹⁰⁷ Beard 2003, 33. Gurval 1995, 28: "Above all, the manner in which the victory was represented avoided any suggestion of civil war". Not mentioning it is hardly the same as not knowing. After the triumphs of L. Munatius Plancus and A. Aemilius Lepidus late 43 BC, in principle over Gauls and Spain, the soldiers shouted that the triumph was over Germans not Gauls, the Latin word *germanus* also meaning brother (Vell. 2.67.4. See also App. *B.C.* 4.31; Degrassi 1947, 87). For the pun on brother, see also Quint. 8.3.29. See Woodman 1983, 155. On triumph and civil war, see Sumi 2005, 189–192.

¹⁰⁸ On Brutus, see especially Vell. 2.62.4; Dio 46.40.

¹⁰⁹ Flaminius (Livy 34.52; Plut. *Flam.* 13–14; Degrassi 1947, 78–79, 553) and Paulus (Livy 45.40; Plut. *Aem.* 32–34; Diod. 31.8.9–13; Degrassi 1947, 80–81, 556) both celebrated three day-triumphs, Pompeius two days (Pliny *N.H.* 7.26.98–99; App. *Mith.* 116–117; Plut. *Pomp.* 45; Dio 37.21.2; Degrassi 1947, 84–85, 566).

Fasti triumphales Barberini; EJ, p. 35).¹¹⁰ Gurval is quite right in pointing out that it is strange that the second triumph of Actium is missing without any breakage in the inscription. He suggests that the Actian triumph was a mistake or a rush emotion by the Senate after the news of the victory reached Rome. Gurval follows Henzen, editor of both CIL editions, and holds it was conflated with day three, if not for the sake of brevity because it was the same war, then because they were closely linked in the public opinion.¹¹¹ This is not supported by the sources though, and Actium was the turning point in the war. Mommsen thought the stone cutter was in error because of three similar entries beginning with “IMP CAESAR”.¹¹² The Capitoline *Fasti Triumphales* has a lacuna between the triumphs of Norbanus 34 BC and Carrinas in 28 BC. Importantly, the gap is about 16 lines which must mean that Actium did get its own entry, thus supporting Mommsen.¹¹³

The vital question is how to measure the relative importance of the three triumphs.¹¹⁴ Gurval implies that Octavian on purpose downplayed the Actian triumph by placing it as the middle triumph.¹¹⁵ It seems more likely and far less extreme to suggest that chronology decided which triumph would be first, in the middle and on the last day of the triple triumph ceremony. Actium was most certainly not downplayed and vitally, the triumph was not declined.¹¹⁶ Octavian could just have opted for one triumph for the whole war over Cleopatra, but he did not. Furthermore, as will be shown below and in chapter 6, the victories’ lasting contribution to the outlook of the city of Rome was huge. Actium produced rams, Egypt produced riches.

¹¹⁰ Coarelli 1985, 269–308. For the debate of attributing the *Fasti* to a specific building, see Nedergaard 2001, 107–127, refuting the Arch of Actium and accepting the Parthian arch. See also Claridge 1998, 99.

¹¹¹ Gurval 1995, 31–32. See *CIL* I, p. 479 and *CIL* I², p. 78.

¹¹² Mommsen 1883, 10; Beard 2007, 78, 303–305. She rightly points out that the *Fasti* is the product of sloppy work in general, with no uniform spelling and omissions.

¹¹³ Degrassi 1947, 86.

¹¹⁴ For the question of the relative importance of the triumphs, see Gurval 1995, chapter 1, esp. 19–36.

¹¹⁵ Gurval 1995, 28, on the triumphs in general, 19–36. Similar Walker 2007, esp. 488: “The triumphant conclusion of a civil war was a challenge of presentation, resolved by sandwiching the celebration of Actium between the less controversial victories over Illyria and Egypt”. But apart from the triumph and the building programme in Rome surely the Victory Monument at Actium makes this conclusion absurd.

¹¹⁶ Rightly so Osgood 2006, 384, n. 131.

Three in one or three separate triumphs

Using the shield of Aeneas (8.671–728), Östenberg argues that these triumphs were different to many others; she argues that the triple triumph was a combined manifestation, because of Virgil's *triplex triumphus* (8.714).¹¹⁷ This is allegedly also what Dio shows, as Octavian only entered the city on the last day of the triumph (51.21.9). This seems to be forcing the material too much. Dio is compiling the material and making three triumphs seem like one because it is easier that way, but there are still three distinct triumphs. But even if Dio is not conclusive, Servius seems to suggest that Octavian only entered on the last day.¹¹⁸ It seems though very possible that Octavian only entered on the last day, as it was hardly acceptable to have the 700 senators enter Rome in procession twice and because it would have made much more impact to enter only on the last day, also as a sign of moderation. Importantly, there are still three very distinct triumphs, all important, and with different spoils. The Actian triumph was certainly not downplayed by Octavian.¹¹⁹

Returning to Virgil, Octavian is seated in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (*Aen.* 8.720), a temple not dedicated until 28 BC.¹²⁰ Virgil is not writing history but poetry, which does not require chronology. But there is no doubt, Actium was the important triumph and *Apollo Actius* goes to show that (*Aen.* 8.704).¹²¹

Aen. 8.720–8, the final scene on the shield, describes people and places in the triple triumph of Octavian. According to Östenberg Octavian wanted to do better than Pompeius and Caesar and use his triumphs to announce the conquest of the world and its three conti-

¹¹⁷ Östenberg 1999, 156.

¹¹⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 8.714: *Triplici triumpho tres enim Augustus habuit triumphos: nam primo die triumphavit exercitus qui Antonium vicerat navali bello, secundo qui Dalmatas vicerat, tertio ipse cum Alexandrino est ingressus triumpho.* See Östenberg 1999, 288. Weinstock 1971, 76 believes this to be wrong and concludes that Octavian did enter on all three days.

¹¹⁹ As suggested by Gurval 1995, 28.

¹²⁰ It has also been pointed out by Millar, J.F. 2000, esp. 412 that the triumph did of course not end at the temple of Apollo as mentioned (*Aen.* 8.714–722, 720–722 on the temple) and would not have, had it been build at this point; the triumph would have ended on the Capitol, at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Nero actually later ended his “triumph” at the temple of Apollo (2000, 415).

¹²¹ For the scholarship and approaches to the shield of Aeneas, see Casali 2006, 185.

nents.¹²² But although the victory over Antonius meant Asia would be under the control of Octavian, the triumphs were only in Europe and Africa. The Galatian Adiatorix and Alexander of Emesa (Arabia) were part of the triumph, but there was still no fighting in Asia.¹²³ That the Morini, defeated by Carrinas, were included in the first triumph is most probably wrong.¹²⁴ And what about Dahae and the river Araxes in Armenia, why should they have been included in the triumph?¹²⁵ Östenberg asserts they might have had a role to play at the battle of Actium, but this was unknown territory. It seems much more likely that Virgil is mentioning an imaginary scene with both the known triumphs, but importantly, at the same time embracing triumphs to come.¹²⁶ This passage thus cannot be used to elucidate the triumph of 29 BC. This is similar to the *Georgica*, mentioning the Ganges (3.27). Octavian did claim to have conquered the world, and did put this to show prominently in the *RG* (praef.), but to claim to have conquered the world could hardly be made on the grounds of the triumphs; peace by land and sea could.

According to Dio 51.21.7 Egyptian booty was displayed on all three days of triumphs (see also Suet. *Aug.* 18).¹²⁷ The riches from Egypt were justification and proved the greatness of Octavian's achievement, but does it show the relative importance of Alexandria over Actium? Virgil writes in the *Aen.* 8.685:

*Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
Victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum
Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx*

Here Antonius with barbaric might (*ope* rightly riches? See Gransden 1976: 178) and varied arms, victor from the nations of the dawn and from the ruddy sea, brings with him Egypt and the strength of the East and utmost Bactra; and there follows him (o shame) his Egyptian wife (trans. Fairclough 1934).

¹²² Östenberg 1999, 156–162.

¹²³ Östenberg 1999, 160.

¹²⁴ Rich 1996, 97. Against this Östenberg 1999, 160.

¹²⁵ Östenberg 1999, 161.

¹²⁶ Like Hor. *Car.* 53–60. See Harrison 1997, 75.

¹²⁷ McKay 1998, 210 concludes that the Alexandrian triumph was more eye-catching. Similar Gurval 1995, 21. Regarding the show, see Beard 2003, 21–43.

There are two levels in these lines, looking at *ope barbarica*: these are the riches to be shown in the triumphs of Octavian, especially on the last day, celebrating the conquest of Egypt. But these riches are also a symbol of the decadence of Antonius and the East (RG 24). RG 21.3 mentions Octavian's refusal to accept the *aurum coronarium*, the gold for crowns contributed by the *municipia* and colonies of Italy to his triumph of 29 BC. This is declined to show that Italy was different; provincials after all still had to pay. But he also showed restraint as in RG 24; this was not Antonius, but Octavian. This was not the East, but Rome and Italy.

To stress the relative importance of Alexandria on the grounds of booty alone seems wrong, also because Actium is much more central in the topography of the city and on the triumphal route. Egypt did in fact produce much more booty than Actium, because there was no local enemy at Actium and thus less booty. But Actium did produce one vital artefact; rams. Summing up, there are clearly three separate triumphs, as there are three Senate decrees.

The procession

According to Dio 51.21.8 Helios and Selene, the children of Cleopatra and Antonius, were part of the triumph, together with an effigy of their mother (third day).¹²⁸ Plutarch mentions that this last day triumph also showed an image of Cleopatra with a snake (*Ant.* 86).¹²⁹

Propertius tells us that rams were part of the triumphal procession: "*Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via*" (2.1.35).¹³⁰ The rams no doubt emphasized the naval battle of Actium, probably on the second day. No source goes into detail regarding the enemy of the second day in the spectacle itself, but it would have had rams, weaponry and booty and princes and kings in procession. Zachos implies that the fragments of the relief of the Victory Monument at Actium show the second day of triumph.¹³¹ Since the fragments have only partly been published this may or may not be the case. Perhaps more likely the relief from

¹²⁸ See also Eusebius *Chron.* II.190 (Schoene). See Hardie 2006, 36–37.

¹²⁹ Beard 2003, 33.

¹³⁰ Östenberg 2003, 45 and 51.

¹³¹ Zachos 2003, 90–92; Beard 2007, 45 suggests that contrary the traditional function of the triumph, the process was reversed at Actium: "the triumph was replayed in marble on the site of the battle". Even though fascinating, this may turn out to be a premature conclusion.

the monumental altar on the monument at Actium may just show a generic triumph.

The triumphator was in competition with everything else happening at the triumph; the triumph itself being something relative flexible.¹³² But the order of procession on the last day was according to Dio strange, because the magistrates did not take the traditional front position (51.21.9).¹³³ In RG 25.3 Augustus writes:

Qui sub signis meis tum militaverint fuerunt senatores plures quam DCC, in iis qui vel antea vel postea consules facti sunt ad eum diem quo scripta sunt haec LXXXIII, sacerdotes circiter CLXX.

More than seven hundred senators served under my standards at the time (Actium), including eighty-three who previously or subsequently (down to the time of writing) were appointed consuls, and about one hundred and seventy who were appointed priests (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

Perhaps there was no breach, but special circumstances. A large part of the senators and indeed the magistrates had been part of the fighting at Actium, and thus they had to be relocated in the triumph, as in fact implied by Dio 51.20.2. The 700 senators, including the magistrates, mentioned in RG 25.3 were all soldiers of Octavian, even if they did not go to Actium, and therefore they were behind him during the triumph.¹³⁴ Dio does indicate that the senators walking behind the triumphator had taken part in the victory (51.21.9). This seems more likely than the alternative view that this reversal of normal positions stressed Octavian 'monarchical' position in the state.¹³⁵ Alternatively, this was down to his triumviral position, in the ideology of the regime clearly a justifiable position. But Beard rightly points out that Dio mentions that it was "allowed"; that this reversal of normal positions was in fact an honour.¹³⁶

The evidence does not seem to suggest that Actium was downplayed as the middle triumph; it was the middle triumph because it was the middle victory. All three triumphs were important and therefore celebrated as triumphs. Importantly, the Actian and Alexandrian triumphs

¹³² Beard 2003; 2007; Sumi 2005, 9.

¹³³ Östenberg 1999, 11 and 264. On Dio and the Senate, see Rich 1990, 1–2.

¹³⁴ Kromayer 1888, 19.

¹³⁵ Sumi 2005, 216–217; Zachos 2007, 422; Reinhold 1988, 157–158.

¹³⁶ Beard 2007, 240. This is a good point, but Dio importantly does still not understand why.

had been voted to the absent Octavian by the Senate, rather than waiting for his return in the traditional republican way. He did not have to accept the Senate's decrees for two separate triumphs—but he did.

5.6. *(Civil) war and peace*

Looking at the honours conferred on Octavian after the victories at Actium and Alexandria, as listed by Dio, a picture emerges: they were honours for the absent victor and thus Octavian did not accept or even approve of all the honours. Furthermore, it seems the honours given after Actium did not take into account that a new set of honours would be needed after Alexandria; thus one war in the end produced two triumphs. And vitally, both sets of honours point to the assignment of the triumvirate and the hope that Octavian would help the *res publica* back to normality and peace (absence from civil war, not war in general).

The *quinquennial* games in Rome seem to have been prompted by the games at Actium; Apollo was thanked for his contribution to the victory at Actium. As the capture of Alexandria was celebrated on 1st August, the battle of Actium received two days: the anniversary of the battle and the birthday of Octavian. Again, the honours are best stressed in continuation of the triumviral assignment; Octavian had ended the civil wars and conquered Egypt, and thus he was presented with honours. Now it was time to do for Rome in peace what he had already done in war.

In this process the enemy Antonius was dishonoured but not forgotten (*'damnatio memoriae'*), he still had a role to play. His family on the other hand was spared; the *clementia* of Octavian was part of the return to normality. The *'damnatio memoriae'* of Antonius initiated by the Senate is an example of an honour rejected by Octavian; the Senate had no grounds for believing this would cause problems, but Octavian changed it after his arrival at Rome. The story most likely shows that the Senate was not instructed what kind of honours Octavian wanted and in this case they got it wrong.

No honour pleased Octavian more than the closing of the temple of Janus, the index of war and peace. In fact the stressing of peace more than war seems an "Augustan" invention and most likely must be seen in light of the ending of the civil war. Even though the second closing of

the temple after the First Punic War, the first by Numa being mythical, probably is historical, there still seems to be an “Augustan” reinvention of Janus and peace. The connection between the closing and the *augurium salutis* is clearly a novelty. The first closing under Octavian most likely appeared before his return to Rome in 29 BC, as a result of the ending of the civil wars and the freeing of the *res publica* from grave danger. The ‘three’ closings under Augustus suggest that there was still work to be done by Augustus and for the *res publica*.

The triple triumph of 29 BC was the visible proof of these victories. All three triumphs were important, first and foremost Actium and Alexandria. They were different as wars and as triumphs, and they were commemorated differently, but regarding the relative importance of the two, this is in many ways an odd question to ask. What can be said is that in the Augustan evidence ‘Actium’ was sometimes used to describe the war against Antonius and Cleopatra, including Alexandria. The Victory Monument at Actium does seem to have a special relation to Rome that Alexandria or Nicopolis in Egypt does not seem to have. And the impact of Actium at Rome does seem to have been bigger, as it received its own monument (the Actian arch) and the rams decorated the *Forum Romanum*. The rest is mainly down to differences in the victories themselves: Actium produced rams and Egypt produced the riches of Egypt.

Even though they were in principle one war they received two separate triumphs; Octavian ended the civil wars and conquered Egypt. The blurring of foreign and civil war was also highly visible at Rome. But the ideology stressed at Actium clearly equals the one at Rome; Octavian and the Senate worked together on the commemoration of the victories of Octavian.

CHAPTER SIX

RES PUBLICA CONSTITUTA

Octavian returned to Rome in 29 BC and entered the city in a triple triumph 13–15th August. He remained in Rome until the summer of 27 BC. In the city Octavian tried to boost euphoria: the triumphs, dedication of temples and *quinquennial* games in 28 BC. The plebs and the veterans received money distribution from the spoils and Dio even suggests that the boost to the money supply meant that interest rates fell to a third of the previous level (51.21.5).¹ In 29–28 BC Octavian carried out a *census* with Agrippa, which included a revision of the Senate.² In 28 BC 82 temples were restored as part of refurbishing the city of Rome and pleasing the gods, as civil war had its cause in the neglect of the gods (Livy 3.20.5: *neglegentia deum*).³ Octavian also made a show of personal modesty by melting down 80 statues of himself and used the proceeds to dedicate tripods in the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*.⁴

A Greek literary papyrus, most likely contemporary, mentions a ship with a cargo of Law and Order and prosperity.⁵ This process of returning to normality ended in 27 BC with the return of the triumviral *potestas* to the Senate and people, as a symbol of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment; the *res publica* was finally constituted. The period from the return of Octavian to Rome in 29 BC to the settlement of 28–27 BC, focusing on the commemorations of the victory of Actium (and Alexandria) at Rome and the settlement of 28–27 BC, will bring

¹ Dio 51.21.2; 53.1.3–2.3 on the spectacles, dedications and benefactions. See Rich and Williams 1999, 189.

² RG 8.2; Suet. *Aug.* 27.5, 35.1; Dio 51.42.1–4, 53.1.3; EJ 323 (*census*). RG 8.2 must then be seen in continuation of his policy statement, his manifesto, in RG 8.5 on moral legislation (Brunt and Moore 1967, 52), but also the continued work of Augustus to “set the state to right”.

³ RG 20.4; Livy 4.20.7; Suet. *Aug.* 30.2; Dio 53.2.4; Hor. *Odes* 3.6.1–8; Ovid *Fasti* 2.63. See Rich and Williams 1999, 189–190. Regarding the neglect of the gods, see Ogilvie 1965, 431–432.

⁴ Zanker 1990, 90–96 for the context of the tripods. Regarding the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, Lambrechts 1953 suggests that we talk of an Apollonic character of Augustan religion.

⁵ Page 1942, no. 113. See also Bowersock 1965, 139.

together all the themes of this analysis, i.e. *pax*, civil war, Apollo and Actium. Instead of the traditional view that Octavian claimed to have restored the *res publica*, it will be suggested that the settlement equals the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, a major difference being that it was thus much more unproblematic that the Senate gave new powers to Augustus in 27 BC; it was all a question of fixed-term assignments.

6.1. *The reshaping of the Forum Romanum*

This section will look at monuments built in the *Forum Romanum* in connection with the victories over Antonius and Cleopatra. This was a virtual rebuilding of the *Forum Romanum*; it changed significantly with the victories of Octavian.⁶

The Temple of Divus Julius

The temple was authorised in 42 BC by the triumvirs and dedicated on 18th August 29 BC.⁷ In front of it was the *rostra aedis divi Iuli*, with rams from the battle of Actium (Dio 51.19.2; 56.34.4; Frontin. *Aq.* 129.1). On one of the reliefs of the *Plutei Traiani* the emperor stands in front of the temple, with rams clearly visible.⁸ In RG 21.2 Augustus stresses that he used the proceeds of booty to dedicate gifts in the temple to *Divus Julius*, Jupiter, *Mars Ultor*, Vesta and Apollo. According to Dio 51.22.2–3 these spoils were from Egypt.

The temple should be seen in connection with the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment; Caesar was avenged and the temple with

⁶ Zanker 1990, 85–90, esp. 85. For overviews, see Zanker 1990; Favro 1996.

⁷ Dio 47.18 on the triumvirs and Dio 51.22.2–3 on the date of dedication. See also RG 19.1. On the temple, see Platner and Ashby 1926, 286–288; Gros 1996, 116–119; Claridge 1998, 97–99, Coarelli 2008, 90–92. According to Roller 2007 it is significant that the temple was begun by the triumvirs, but in the end Octavian took sole credit for it (90). But in reality what else could he have done? Similar he suggests that the temple of Mars Ultor is the forgotten temple of Antonius, as he, the victor of Philippi, would have vowed it (94–95). But this is surely a misunderstanding; the triumvirs were behind the victory, as this was part of their assignment, but at the same time Octavian had his filial duty.

⁸ See Zanker 1972, 13; Hannestad 1988, 192–194. The rams are also visible on a coin of Hadrian. On the coin, as on the *Plutei Traiani*, the emperor is shown addressing the people from the *rostra aedis divi Iuli*. See BMC vol. 3 1936, 433, nr. 1309ff.

the rams from Actium shows that Octavian connected this with the ending of the civil wars.

Rostra

Caesar decided to remove the old *rostra* at the northwest end of the *Forum Romanum*, but the rebuilding seems to have happened after 42 BC; there is no doubt it was finished by Augustus.⁹ It was adorned with rams, most certainly also from Actium.

The Curia Julia

In the *Curia Julia*, dedicated in 29 BC, Octavian placed an altar and a statue of *Victoria* from Tarentum.¹⁰ There were also spoils of war from Egypt (Dio 51.22.2). A coin mostly likely depicts the *Curia*, with *Victoria* on a globe at the apex of the pediment (*RIC* 1² 266, perhaps the same *Victoria* on *RIC* 1² 268). As the date of this series is disputed the question remains if the coin shows the victory at Naulochus or Actium.¹¹ The altar in the *Curia* was certainly dedicated on 28th August 29 BC (EJ, p. 51). This together with the coin and Dio does suggest that the coin must be dated after the dedication of the altar of *Victoria* in 29 BC. The

⁹ Dio 43.49.1. See Platner and Ashby 1926, 451–455; Coarelli 1985, 308–324; 2008, 70–72; Richardson 1992, 335–336; Claridge 1998, 81–84; Verduchi 1999, 214–217; Haselberger 2007, 75–77.

¹⁰ Dio 51.22.1; Suet. *Aug.* 100.2; Herodian 5.5.7. See also Reinhold 1988, 158. On the statue from Tarentum, see Fadinger 1969, 294. On the *Curia Julia*, see Platner and Ashby 1926, 143–146; Zanker 1990, 85–86; Tortorici 1993, 332–334; Coarelli 2008, 62–65. Weinstock 1971, 11–112 on Augustus and *Victoria*.

¹¹ See Gurval 1995, 62, supporting Naulochus. There are two large series of aurei and denarii with the legends “CAESAR DIVI F” (*RIC* 1² 250–63) and “IMP CAESAR” (*RIC* 1² 264–74). The dates of both series are disputed. Kraft 1969, 5–25 stresses they are after 29 BC. This is supported by Trillmich 1988, 507, 510–511; Kienast 1999, 391. Most scholars date them before the victory over Antonius and Cleopatra; some may even commemorate the victory over Sextus Pompeius. See Crawford 1974 (*RRC*), 246–7; Mannsperger 1991, 363–75; Gurval 1995, 47–65. For the disputes in general, see Rich and Williams 1999; Dillon 2007. Octavian assumed the title imperator in 29 BC according to Dio 52.41.3–4, but this may be a mistake. See Rich and Williams 1999, 171–172, n. 7. *RIC* 1² 252 with the legend *Pax* might point to 36 BC, or after Actium or Alexandria, it is impossible to tell. *RIC* 1² 273 shows a temple enclosing military trophy on a naval base; the triskelis is shown in pediment. This is the emblem of Sicily, but still, even though it commemorated the victory of 36 BC it may have been minted later. *RIC* 1² 257 shows a naked male figure on a rock holding a lyre. This might indeed be Apollo with his lyre. *RIC* 1² 263K and 264 show rams, which again could point to both naval victories.

Curia clearly commemorates the victories of Actium and Alexandria. At the same time there was a Late Republican tradition of *Victoria* as the bringer of peace; something brought to great prominence by Octavian/Augustus because of the civil war and the triumviral assignment (RG 13).¹²

Four-column-monument

According to Servius Octavian built a monument of four columns after the victory over Egypt (Serv. *Georg.* 3.29, commenting on Virg. *Georg.* 3.29: *Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas*). The victory over Egypt is stressed, but at the same time the text says *multa de navali certamine sustulit rostra*. There is talk of a naval battle. Virgil in the *Georgica* 3.29 mentions the Nile as a counterbalance to the Ganges and the future victories of Octavian (3.27); he would conquer the whole *oikumene*. The rams from the hostile fleet must refer to Actium, not Egypt. Thus again, the two battles of Actium and Alexandria are mentioned together.

Palombi attractively suggests that the monument in the *Forum Romanum* commemorating the victory over Sextus Pompeius (App. *BC* 5.130) was refitted after Actium, with the original single column now be joined by three more.¹³ The monument in one or other of its states appears on a coin issue in the IMP CAESAR series showing a rostral column surmounted by the figure of Octavian (*RIC* 1² 271). In view of the uncertainty over the chronology of the series, we cannot be sure which phase is represented: the coin could depict the original single-column Naulochus monument. Alternatively, it may commemorate Actium, with only one of the four columns being shown.

Sehlmeyer on the other hand connects this monument with the *Curia*, by using a coin showing the *Curia* (*RIC* 1² 266): the columns on the coin allegedly show the *rostra*, melted down and reused as columns, as

¹² Hölscher 1967, 143–155, 159–164; Koortbojian 2006. Octavian was of course portrayed as the ‘bringer of victory’, not just as the ‘bringer of peace’. RG 13 and the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium make it clear that victory and peace were used together by Octavian/Augustus. Gurval 1995, 62 rightly points out that Dio 51.22.1–2 places the statue of *Victoria* in the Senate chamber and thus not on the pediment. But the engraver of the coin might have thought it more difficult to show the statue inside the building and instead chose to place it in on the pediment to show its importance.

¹³ Palombi 1993, 308.

the coin depicts plain columns without rams.¹⁴ This is strange indeed, since the rams are normally displayed as rams. Sehlmeier argues that Actium was problematic and could not be celebrated directly and in public, because it allegedly would have provoked the Senate.¹⁵ But if Actium was problematic, Octavian would hardly have accepted the triumph and put up rams all over the Forum. Thus this certainly is a monument built to commemorate Actium and perhaps also the capture of Egypt.

The Arch of Actium

The arch of Octavian in the *Forum Romanum* was most likely built on that particular location because of the triumph, as part of the triumphal route. The triumphal procession would have passed through it, very likely the purpose of the *fornice*s and arches.¹⁶

There is quite a lot of disagreement on the arches of Augustus on the *Forum Romanum*. As it stands there is only one arch found and two possible identifications, the arch of Actium and the arch of Parthia.¹⁷ At the outset it seems fair to suggest that it would seem very odd indeed if no monument commemorated Actium after 19 BC; that is if the Parthian arch took over from the demolished Actian arch.¹⁸ Nedergaard's excavations have shown that the arch is a triple arch, which according to her can only mean the Parthian arch, because the Actian arch was a single arch, as shown on coins.¹⁹ But the engraver of the coin, showing the Actian arch as a single arch, might have been unaware that it was a triple arch, or 'was to be', as the coin could antedate the completion of

¹⁴ Sehlmeier 2002, 224–226.

¹⁵ Sehlmeier 2002, 223–224.

¹⁶ Favro 1994, 158. On Late Republican arches, see 163, n. 26; Gurval 1995, 37. Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 146 observes that the arch changed during the Late Republic, from individual initiative, into an honour by the *SPQR*. Rose 2005, 33, in a very thorough investigation of the Parthians in Augustan Rome writes: "The viewer was left with the sense that the Parthian settlement represented the culmination of all earlier triumphs, and with the hope that the latest closings of the Gates of Janus, which lay within easy reach of the arch, would commemorate the advent of an enduring peace". But there is no link with the closing of the temple of Janus and the Parthian settlement, and the victory over Parthia did not produce a triumph.

¹⁷ See Kleiner 1989, esp. 198–200 regarding the scholarship on the arches of Augustus.

¹⁸ Johnson 1976, 136.

¹⁹ Nedergaard 2001, 113. This is accepted by Rose 2005.

the arch itself, and thus simply depicted it as a single arch.²⁰ Similarly the Parthian arch is also shown as a triple arch on a coin (*RIC* 1² 131–7).

According to Dio one honour commemorating Actium was an arch on the *Forum Romanum* (51.19.1). He also mentions one for Parthia (Dio 54.8.3; *Schol. Veron. in Verg. Aen.* 7.606) and one after Naulochus in 36 BC, but since this last honour was declined shortly after it was decreed, it seems an unlikely candidate on a coin. Dio 49.15.1–3 states that Octavian declined some of these honours and Appian (*B.C.* 5.130) lists the honours, but does not mention the arch. The coin showing an arch most likely must be identified as the Actian arch.²¹ Dio 54.8.2–4 on the honours given to Augustus after the Parthian success mentions an *ovatio*, which is clearly wrong and contradicts Dio 54.10.4, where he says Augustus entered the city by night.²² Dio may be trusted on the decrees of the Senate, not on the implementations.

Importantly, Augustus did not accept a triumph in 20 BC. Dio 51.19.1 even mentions in detail that the arch of Actium was to be erected in the Forum, even though a few honours were not accepted (51.20.4).²³ This must be held against the information given in the commentary to Virgil by a 5th or 6th century palimpsest from Verona commenting on *Parthos reposcere signa* (“to demand back the standards from the Parthians”) in *Aen.* 7.606. The scholiast writes:

Quae Licinio Crasso interfecto interceperant Parthi: haec reportavit Augustus. Huius facti notae repraesentantur in arcu, qui est iuxta aedem divi Iulii.

The Parthians had captured these after killing Licinius Crassus; Augustus recovered them. Emblems of this achievement are displayed on the arch which is next to the temple of Divus Julius (trans. Rich 1998).

²⁰ Rich 1998, 109. See *RIC* 1² 267 for the Actium arch and *RIC* 1² 508–10 with a single arch and the legend “SPR SIGNIS RECEPTIS”, which can only refer to the Parthian standards. See Rich 1998, 98–99. Rose 2005, 35, n. 75 seems to think Rich 1998 suggests that a single arch was turned into a triple arch, but this is not so. Rich 1998, 104–105, 109, 114–115 suggest a triple arch all along.

²¹ *RIC* 1² 266. See Rich 1998, 106. Against this and suggesting Naulochos as more likely see Gurval 1995, 40–41 and 47–64. He focuses on the portraiture of Augustus more than the historical context.

²² Rich 1998, 77–79. On the number of ovations given to Augustus, see *RG* 4.1; Suet. *Aug.* 22; Dio 48.3.3; 49.15.1; Oros. 6.18.34, 20.6 Dio also mentions a temple to *Mars Ultor* on the Palatine which probably never existed, see Rich 1998, 79–82.

²³ Reinhold 1988, 146; Kienast 1999, 78–79.

The possibilities seem twofold: either the Actian arch must be found somewhere else in the Forum or one of the arches was not accepted.²⁴ Dio conveys the impression that all the honours given in 20 BC were put into effect, which they were not, and thus Actium is the more likely.²⁵ The compromise conclusion by Rich suggests that the arch of Actium was built and later alterations meant it could accommodate the standards.²⁶ The scholiast does in fact not say that the arch was erected to display the standards.²⁷ The theory of Rich works without having to reject part of the evidence, and at the same time takes the archaeological material into account. The arch in the Forum was the arch of Actium, later 'changed' to accommodate the standards regained from Parthia.

Part of this discussion on the arches of Augustus is an inscription originally found in the 16th century in the *Forum Romanum* but subsequently lost. This may or may not have been attached to the arch:²⁸

Senatus populusque Romanus / Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Iuli f(ilio) co(n)s(uli) quinct(um) co(n)s(uli) design(ato) sext(um) imp(eratori) sept(imum) / re publica conservata.

The Roman Senate and people to Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Julius, consul for the fifth time, consul designated for the sixth time, *imperator* for the seventh time, the *res publica* having been saved (CIL VI 873 = EJ 17.) (trans. Rich 1998).

Gurval suggest that only the date of 29 BC may point in the direction of the arch; an arch he thinks was never built.²⁹ Looking at the inscription he instead suggests that the *Curia Julia*, the temple of *Divus Julius*, the temple of Minerva or the columns were possibilities. But the temple

²⁴ This idea has now found support in Haselberger 2007, 73. In note 87 Haselberger observes that Rich 1998, 106–107 accepts that it cannot be entirely excluded that the Actian arch must be found somewhere else. This flexibility is used against Rich and it is apparently no longer necessary to engage with his argument and conclusion, even though contrary to Haselberger's view.

²⁵ Rich 1998, 106–108. See also Coarelli 2008, 92.

²⁶ Alterations to the already existing triple arch of Actium do not have to include changes to the structure of the arch itself and would thus not be traceable today.

²⁷ Rich 1998, 109. See also Johnson 1976, 131–138, esp. 137 for a similar conclusion. Holland 1946; 1953 with a similar conclusion, but wrongly suggesting a single arch to Actium, later amplified to accommodate the Parthian victory, by addition of two wings. Nedergaard 2001, n. 55 acknowledges Rich 1998, but she does not engage with his arguments (Nedergaard 1988, 224–239 and 1993, 80–85).

²⁸ Rich 1998, 100–101, 114; 1999, 184–185; Johnson 1976, 134.

²⁹ Gurval 1995, 36–47, 42 on the inscription. Concluding it to belong to the arch of Actium, see Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 146; Rich 1998, 100–114; Rich and Williams 1999, 184–185.

of *Divus Julius* would have honoured Caesar not Octavian, Minerva seems wrong because there is no mention of the goddess; the inscription would seem inappropriate.³⁰ As for the *Curia Julia*, the focus on *Victoria* would hardly have been missed. As for the columns, they are hardly more suitable than an arch.

Another problem is the measurements of the inscription, which show that it cannot have been placed on the central arch, as it was too small.³¹ But if a triple Actian arch is accepted it might fit on one of the side arches instead, and this might also explain why Actium was not mentioned in the inscription, as it would have been mentioned in the inscription on the central arch.

Having established that the inscription refers to an honour from 29 BC there is a fascinating issue of chronology, since the arch was decreed just after Actium. Complicating matters even more, the freeing or saving of the *res publica* must be dated to 1st August 30 BC, the day of the capture of Alexandria.³² If it is accepted that the *res publica* was *conservata* in 30 BC, the inscription can only refer to a decree that is later than the original decreeing of the arch of Actium. Alternatively, this may simply reflect the date the inscription was first erected. The most likely scenario is thus a further honour in 29 BC, perhaps a modification of the arch as later after the returning of the Parthian standards.

The inscription is also close to the *Pro republica* and *pax* as found on the inscription from Actium. This does suggest the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment by Octavian; they surely must refer to the same ideas and slogans, and thus the arch of Actium does seem very fitting.

6.2. *Apollo Palatinus and Actium*

Dio 53.1.4–5 does not state explicitly that there is a connection between the dedication of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, near the house of Augustus, and the *quinquennial* festival in honour of the Actian

³⁰ Gurval 1995, 42. Nedergaard 2001, 125 n. 51 suggest the temple of the Deified Julius.

³¹ Gurval 1995, 42 on the measurements. See also Holland 1946, 55.

³² On the *corona obsidionalis* (30th Sept. 30 BC), see Pliny *N.H.* 22.13 and Dio. 51.19.5. On the connection between the capture of Alexandria and freeing the state, see EJ, p. 49; Rich and Williams 1999, 184–185.

victory, but since Apollo is mentioned in the preceding sentence on the Palatine temple, Dio perhaps thought there was no reason to mention the god a second time. The central question is how far the temple dedicated in 28 BC turned into a victory monument, commemorating the victory at Actium.³³

The decision behind the founding of the Palatine temple has already been described in chapter 1. The temple of Apollo was built in 36 BC after the site was struck by lightning, not because of the battle of Nauclonus the same year, but at the time of its dedication in 28 BC the world had changed. Apollo was also held to have been instrumental at Actium. This must have seemed a stroke of good luck to Octavian; Apollo kept helping and was thanked in numerous ways.³⁴

Later in 19 BC this connection was made evident by Virgil in the shield of *Aeneas* (8.671–728): *Apollo Actius* helps Octavian win the battle at Actium (704ff).³⁵ Entering Rome in triumph the poem has Octavian seated at the entrance to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine (720). Propertius 4.6 from 16 BC is about the origins of the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*.³⁶ Again, the god is given the temple because of his help at the battle of Actium (55–60).

Gurval has rightly pointed out that the date of dedication, 9th October 28 BC, does not suggest a connection to Actium.³⁷ According to him contemporaries did not make this connection; the myth was later established by Virgil and Propertius. *Apollo Actius* is mentioned for the first time in Latin literature in *Aen.* 8.704–5.³⁸ The question whether Apollo was worshipped under the epithet *Actius* on the Palatine remains fascinating,

³³ For the traditional view, that there is a clear connection between the Palatine temple of Apollo and the battle of Actium, see Zanker 1983. This has come under attack by Gurval 1995. For the most recent archaeological excavations, see Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006; Carandini and Bruno 2008. See also Hekster and Rich 2006, n. 1, with more scholarship; Coarelli 2008, 172–174.

³⁴ Regarding luck, see Hekster and Rich 2006, 165; 162–165 on the relationship between Apollo and Octavian in connection with the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*.

³⁵ Harrison 1997, 70 suggests that the shield's stories are about survival and continued supremacy of Rome. Camillus and the crisis of 390 BC seem fitting in connection with Augustus and Actium, as the battle saved Rome from danger.

³⁶ See also Prop. 4.1.3; Ovid *Ars Amat.* 3.389–94 for a possible connection.

³⁷ Gurval 1995, 119. For the date see EJ, p. 53; Dio 53.1.3.

³⁸ Gurval 1995, 87–130 on the temple, 130 on Virgil. And then for the second time in Prop. 4.6 (130).

but may after all be the wrong question; the question ought instead to be if the Palatine temple of Apollo was connected to Actium.³⁹

As stressed already a connection between the dedication of the Palatine temple and the *quinquennial* games of 28 BC seems more than likely.⁴⁰ Decreed after Actium in 31 BC, as mentioned by Dio 51.19.2, *quinquennial* games were to be held at Rome; the first year would thus be 27 BC, not 28 BC, when the first games took place. Most likely what happened is that Octavian wanted the Palatine temple dedicated and thus the games were initiated early, together with the dedication. In 27 BC Octavian left Rome and thus 28 BC was preferred. This suggests a strong connection between the Palatine temple of Apollo and the *quinquennial* games.

Having established that a connection between the Palatine temple and Actium is likely, but uncertain, as the main Augustan evidence is relatively late, iconography may help getting closer to an answer of the question. This can only be speculative due to the state of evidence, but will show, partly as the result of a cumulative effect, that with all probability there is a connection.

Propertius and the iconography of the Apollo Palatinus complex

Propertius 2.31 on Cynthia and infidelity is the main evidence on the iconography of the temple of *Apollo Palatinus*, and was most likely written just after the opening of the temple.⁴¹ The poem mentions the portico with Danaus and his daughters (4), a statue of Apollo with a silent lyre (5–6), the altar itself (7), and the temple in marble (9). On

³⁹ According to Günther 2006, 374 the claim that the temple was founded because of Apollo's help at Actium is not historically correct. This seems an odd way to approach poetry; Propertius is part of a changing perception of *Apollo Palatinus*, a change connected with Actium. Apollo's hill, as found at Actium (Strabo 7.7.6), is rather interestingly also found at Rome: the hill is described as sacred to Phoebus by both Propertius (4.1.3: *sacra Palatia Phoebus*) and Ovid (*Ars Am.* 3.389). On Apollo and Apollo Actius, see also chapter 4.

⁴⁰ Hekster and Rich 2006, 165.

⁴¹ On the iconography and building programme of the Palatine temple, see Zanker 1983, 21–40; 1990, 59–61, 90–96; Kellum 1985, 169–176; Simon 1986, 19–25, 128–129; Carettoni 1988a and b, 263–272; Lefèvre 1989; Gurval 1995, 123–127; Galinsky 1996, 213–224; Kienast 1999, 231–238; Hekster and Rich 2006, esp. n. 3 with scholarship and 162–165. On Propertius, see Richardson 2006, 302; Hubbard 2001, 44; Welch 2005, 89. Regarding Cynthia, the best manuscripts of 2.31/32 connects the two poems. Most editors separate them, but according to Richardson 2006, 301 and Welch 2005, 94 they belong together.

the pediment the chariot of the sun emphasizes Apollo's role as the sun god (11). The doors (12–14) depict the success of Apollo in battle: one shows the invading Gauls under Brennus in 278 BC trying to sack Delphi, but in the end defeated by Apollo; the other portrays the punishment of Niobe, whose children were killed by Apollo and Diana because she had boasted that she had fourteen children, and Leto only two. This scene might refer to the civil wars after the death of Caesar and Octavian's defence of the fatherland.⁴² The story may well connect the vengeance of Caesar by Octavian and the vengeance of Apollo, with Delphi as the symbol of civilisation, similar to Rome.⁴³ Line 16 mentions another statue of Apollo, between his mother and sister.⁴⁴

Propertius does not stress why the temple and the portico were built, as Cynthia is the 'real' subject of the poem.⁴⁵ In Propertius the first line of the poem focuses on Cynthia asking why Propertius is late. The temple becomes an excuse and the setting a rendezvous with her. The closeness to the event itself probably made an explanation unnecessary.⁴⁶

Importantly, Propertius 4.6 is about the origins of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, as all poems of book 4 are aetiologies.⁴⁷ The god is given the temple because of his help at the battle of Actium. The woman in line 57 is Cleopatra, not mentioned by name; *solve metu patriam* (41) refers to the war against the enemies of Rome.

In lines 15–86 the setting is not Rome and the Palatine but Actium. Then the poem returns to the outset, to the banquet after the sacrifice. Line 17 states *Actia Iuleae pelagus monumenta carinae*, which must

⁴² On the Gauls, see Paus. 1.4.4 and 10.23; Cic. *Div.* 1.81. On the Niobids see Gagé 1955, 537; Hekster and Rich 2006, 149, n. 3 and 163; Welch 2005, 87. Beard, North and Price 1998, vol. 1, 199 stress that the doors show the defeat of those who disobeyed Apollo; this evoked Apollo's role at Actium.

⁴³ Harrison 1998, 232. On the symbols of civilisation, see Galinsky 1996, 219.

⁴⁴ See Last 1953, 29 dismissing the old theory that lines 15–16 is a description of the pediment; the Sorrento base and Pliny (see below) suggest freestanding statues.

⁴⁵ Hubbard 2001, 43–44 observes that the subject is only the opening of the portico not the temple itself, but most likely they were dedicated at the same time. On Propertius and Cynthia, see Richardson 2006, 3–16.

⁴⁶ The date of Hor. *Odes* 1.31 is difficult. The *odes* were published 23 BC, but since revisions were unlikely close to 23BC the poem is best dated close to the events. See Nisbet and Rudd 2004, xix–xx for dates and publication.

⁴⁷ On the scholarship and approached to Prop. 4.6, see Gurval 1995, 249–252; Welch 2005, 79; Hutchinson 2006, 152–155. The poem is from 16 BC. According to Stahl 1985, 121, 189 the silence of Propertius, meaning the lack of praise of Octavian and epic poetry, in book 1, especially when comparing with Horace and Virgil, is significant. But the question remains if this means the poet is negative towards the regime.

refer to the monuments at Actium. According to Isager *monumenta* in lines 67–68 refer to Actium and the ten-ship monument at the old temple of Apollo. This way the lines 67–68 become identical with line 17, the second mention of *monumenta* refers to both Actium and the Palatine temple (67–70).⁴⁸

*Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta, quod eius
una decem uicit missa sagitta ratis.
Bella satis cecini; citharam iam poscit Apollo
victor et ad placidos exuit arma choros.*

For this feat did Actian Apollo win his temple (*monumenta*), that each arrow he launched sank ten ships. I have sung enough of war: victorious Apollo now demands his lyre, and doffs his armour for dances of peace (trans. Goold 1999).

If a connection to the Palatine temple is denied here, Propertius never gets back to his starting-point, which would be odd.⁴⁹ In Propertius the Apollo of war (Actium) becomes Apollo of Peace (Rome).⁵⁰ In the ideology of the regime *pax* is of course also stressed at Actium itself (the Victory Monument). Lines 69–70 then return to Rome; Apollo has sung enough of war and with his lyre dances a peaceful dance.

Welch compares the peace-like Apollo of 2.31 with Apollo and his bow in 4.6, exchanged later in the same poem with a lyre; Apollo becomes the artistic Apollo of 2.31.⁵¹ This she concludes exposes the fiction of the temple, a discrepancy between what happened at Actium and how it was represented in Rome.⁵² This is largely a misunderstanding; peace was the product of war, of victory, as stated by Propertius 4.6 and indeed Augustus himself in *RG* 13. Apollo as an artist dances and celebrates peace (4.6.69–70), because the same Apollo with bow had helped in battle, securing the victory. It is the same Apollo.⁵³

⁴⁸ Isager 1998, 400–405. This is supported by Hekster and Rich 2006, 163. Lines 67–68 and *monumenta* points to the battle site, especially the ten-ship monument and to the Palatine temple. Hubbard 2001, 134–135 stresses that Prop. 4.6 is about Actium, but falsely, meaning this was not originally the case.

⁴⁹ Hutchinson 2006, 166 suggests that 67–68 is only referring to the monument at Actium, and not directly to the Palatine temple.

⁵⁰ Isager 1998, 405.

⁵¹ Welch 2005, 80–81.

⁵² Welch 2005, 102–103.

⁵³ Welch 2005, 106. See also DeBrohun 2003, 220–225; Günther 2006, 376–377 on the changing roles of Apollo.

Summing up, it has traditionally been observed that the lines 15–18 point to Actium, whereas 67–8 point to the Palatine temple of Apollo.⁵⁴ Instead *monumenta* suggest that 67–8 should be understood as alluding both to the monuments at Actium and, returning to the original subject, to the Palatine temple. Whether this refers only to the ten-ship monument or the Victory Monument as well is impossible to answer. The *monumenta* in line 67 is to be taken as ambiguous and both Rome and Actium with its monuments are stressed. There is no doubt that Virgil's *Aeneid* and Propertius 4.6 changed the way the Palatine temple to Apollo was mentioned in poetry, but this does not mean they invented the connection between Apollo (*Palatinus*) and Actium, as this is disproved by the site of Actium itself.

The portico of the Danaids

In RG 19 Augustus mentions the Apollo temple: *Apollinis Palatio cum porticibus*. The temple and the porticos belong together.⁵⁵ The portico surrounding the sacred area most likely contained the statues of the 50 Danaids and their father, plus perhaps the sons of Aegyptus.⁵⁶ Danaus, having fallen out with his brother Aegyptus, fled from Egypt to Greece and with Apollo's help, conquered Argos. The sons of Aegyptus had been betrothed to the daughters of Danaus; they pursued the Danaids to Argos and demanded them in marriage. On the wedding night the Danaids with one exception, Hypermestra, followed the command of their father and killed the bridegrooms. The 49 Danaids were punished for their crimes in Hades, condemned to carry water in leaking jars in eternity.⁵⁷

Traditionally the portico has been linked with the struggle of Octavian against Antonius and Cleopatra. There are three main possibilities:

⁵⁴ Cairns 1984, 133.

⁵⁵ Prop. 2.31.1f. (*Phoebe Porticus*) suggests the same. On the complex, see Quenemoen 2006. On the library and porticus, see Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006. On the building phases, see Iacopi and Tedone 2005/2006 and Carandini and Bruno 2008, 84–87, 205–213 on the Danaids.

⁵⁶ On the statues, see Zanker 1983, 27; Simon 1986, 21–23; Balensiefen 1999, 190–198; Tomei 1990, 35–48; Tomei 2005/2006 on some refound statue fragments of Danaids in red marble, belonging to the same area as the famous Palatine Danaids in black marble.

⁵⁷ See Apollodorus 2.1.5; Hor. *Car.* 3.11.25–52, Ovid *Her.* 14. According to Serv. *Aen.* 10.495 the Sword-Belt of Pallas (*Aen.* 10.495–505) is on the Danaids: *insculptum Danaidum nefas*.

first, the Danaids symbolised the civil war (Zanker 1983, 27–31),⁵⁸ secondly, barbarian defeat (Simon 1986, 19–25; Lefèvre 1989, 14), and thirdly, the Danaids are the barbarians instead of the sons of Aegyptus (Harrison 1998, 173, 233–234).⁵⁹

Looking at the Augustan age the deeds of the Danaids were seen as a crime.⁶⁰ But there are at times inconsistency between the poets and the ideology of the regime. According to Beard, North and Price the statues recalled the temple to Apollo at Argos by Danaus, but it seems much more important that Apollo is in fact not part of the remainder of the story; he has no say in the deeds of the Danaids and there is no special link with the god. Another link is thus necessary and civil war a possibility. It remains though a puzzle that the Danaids were normally perceived as criminals. Furthermore, did Octavian settle for the iconography after the battle of Actium, or earlier after 36 BC?

Apollo and Hercules: the fight for the tripod

In RG 24.2, datable to just after Actium, Augustus mentions the melting down of statues of himself in Rome, to be turned into golden offerings to Apollo. Suetonius *Aug.* 52 tells the same story but stresses that the offerings were tripods (*cortina*, referring to the tripod at Delphi).⁶¹

Earlier Cassius and Brutus had used the tripod together with *Libertas*, as did Sextus Pompeius.⁶² The tripod of Apollo was a clearly recognisable

⁵⁸ Tomei 2005/2006, 382–384 suggests that the Danaids were appropriate due to the victory over Egypt, but at the same time the story should also be seen in relation to the civil war. And if the civil war is in fact part of the official ideology of the regime this conclusion becomes even more pressing.

⁵⁹ See also Champlin 2003, 302, n. 34. Kellum 1985, 173–174; Wyke 1992, 117; Galinsky 1996, 220; Beard, North and Price 1998, 199; Hölscher 2004, 75; Kleiner 2005, 177; Milnor 2005, 51; Welch 2005, 86; Harrison 2006, 173.

⁶⁰ See Hardie 1990, 520; Harrison 1998, 231. Putnam 1998, 199–200 suggests, using Ovid, that the Danaids and their father were bad. Augustus may have meant the Romans to see them in positive terms, but there is no consensus with the poets (200). *Ara. Am.* 1.73–74 on the Danaids and the murder of their poor cousins. *Trist.* 3.1.59–64 on the Danaids and their barbarous father. See also Hor. *Odes* 3.11.25ff; Tibullus 1.3.79–80.

⁶¹ Dio 53.22 does not mention Apollo and the story is part of his digression on the imperial finances, and thus it may not be in 27 BC. See Rich 1990, 156; Rich and Williams 1999, 190.

⁶² *RRC* 498/1, 499/1 (C. Cassius and *Libertas*/tripod); *RRC* 500/1 (C. Cassius and tripod); *RRC* 502/1; 502/4 (Brutus and *Libertas*/tripod); *RRC* 511/1 (Sextus Pompeius, with Pompeius Magnus and the son facing each other, tripod behind son). All coins are from 42 BC.

and powerful political symbol.⁶³ A similar famous use of the tripod is found at Delphi, where the Greeks put up a tripod from the spoils of war against the Persians.⁶⁴

The tripod of Apollo is also shown on a terracotta plaque from the Palatine temple complex. It depicts the contest between Apollo and Hercules over the Delphic tripod, and it has been suggested that this symbolises the struggle between Antonius and Octavian. There are nine surviving plaques showing this exact image of the struggle.⁶⁵

Hercules was the divine ancestor of Antonius, although his divine imitation was also, and even preferably, directed towards Dionysus.⁶⁶ The story of the struggle for the Delphic tripod is not an 'Augustan' invention and thus Octavian used a known story. Importantly, even though Antonius might have directed his attention towards Dionysus, in Rome he and his family would still have been known as descendants of Hercules.

The story goes that after an archery contest to win Iole, the daughter of Eurytus of Oechalia in marriage, Hercules was denied his price. In the end Iphitus, son of Eurytus, was thrown off the wall by Hercules. He got purified, but ended up with a dire disease. He travelled to Delphi

⁶³ See Kellum 1985, 171 on victory, connecting the tripod with Delphi.

⁶⁴ Thuc. 1.128–35, [Dem.] 59.98. See also Flower 2006, 27.

⁶⁵ Zanker 1983, 34–35; Lefèvre 1989, 20; Galinsky 1996, 222–223; Welch 2005, 87–88; Hekster and Rich 2006, 163–164. A catalogue of the plaques is found in Carettoni 1988b, 267–272. They were found on the Palatine during the excavations of Carettoni in 1968 and are of the so-called Campana type. According to Carettoni 1988b, 267 they were from the Apollo complex, but were replaced by pieces in marble and reused as supporting material. On the Apollo temple complex and the house of Augustus, see now Carandini and Bruno 2008. This volume has come out too late for more than very limited consultation.

⁶⁶ See Pollini 1990, 345 and n. 47, 48, with the evidence; Mannsperger 1973, 386; Gurval 1995, 92–93; Ritter 1995, esp. 76; Hekster 2004, 162; Osgood 2006, 240–241. Zanker 1990, 52–73 on the other hand holds that Hercules must not be forgotten. See also Huttner 1995, suggesting that Antonius hang on to Hercules. There is indeed an abundance of evidence to suggest the connection between the two. See Plut. *Ant.* 4; 36; 60; App. *BC* 3.16; Plut. *Comp. Demetr. Ant.* 3.3 on Cleopatra as Omphale. Furthermore, there is a set of *aurei* from 42 BC with the triumvirs on the obverse and the mythological ancestors on the reverse (RRC 494.2a). Hekster 2004 rightly points to the problematic nature of some of the evidence. He dismisses the story of Omphale. See also Ritter 1995, 81–85. Pelling 1988, 123–124 suggests Antonius used both Hercules and Dionysus. An Arretine ware from around 30 BC may show Antonius and Cleopatra, plus Omphale with Hercules' club and Hercules by her side. See Kuttner 1995, 286, n. 23 rightly stressing it to be satirical. See also Zanker 1990, 67. Importantly, what ever Antonius felt about Hercules in the east, the connection was exploited by the propaganda of Octavian. Rightly so Ritter 1995, 81.

but did not get an oracle; as a result he wanted to plunder the temple (as Antonius in Asia Minor) and ended up stealing the tripod of Apollo, who tried to retain it. Jupiter intervened with a thunderbolt and Apollo retained the tripod. Hercules got his oracle and the disease was cured, but Hercules was sold by Hermes to Omphale of Lydia in Asia Minor as a slave, to serve three years.⁶⁷

Propertius also uses the story.⁶⁸ The subject of 3.11 is female power and Propertius gives a catalogue of dominating women, all Orientals; Omphale is mentioned in lines 17–18.⁶⁹ As in 2.16 (and 2.34), where Antonius flees from Actium out of love for Cleopatra, 3.11.29–32 suggests the nature of the relationship between Cleopatra and Antonius. This contextual reading of the poems of Propertius does suggest that in 3.11.29–32 Cleopatra and Antonius' story is connected to the story of Omphale and Hercules:

*Quid, modo quae nostris opprobria nexerit armis,
et, famulos inter femina trita suos,
coniugii obsceni pretium Romana poposcit
moenia et addictos in sua regna Patres?*

What of her who late has fastened disgrace upon our arms, and, a woman who fornicated even with her slaves, demanded as the price of her shameful union the walls of Rome and the Senate made over to her dominion? (trans. Goold 1999).

In line 40 the disgraced line of Philip is mentioned, quite likely referring to Cleopatra, especially as the threat of the Nile is mentioned in line 42.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The main evidence for the story is Apollodorus 2.6.1–3. On the attempt to carry off the tripod, see Plut. *De E apud Delphos* 6; Paus. 3.21.8, 8.37.1, 10.13.7; Cic. *De Natura Deorum* 3.16.42; Serv. *Aen.* 8.300; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* 9.29 (43); Hyginus *Fab.* 32. Apollodorus tells the older edition of the story, Diodorus the younger (4.31.5). In Diodorus Omphale and Hercules are married and there is nothing on the struggle with Apollo. For the context of the story, see Suhr 1953. Lucian *Dial. deor.* 13.2, *De hist. scr.* 10; Tertullian *De Pallio* 4 see the story as degradation for Hercules. For the story represented in Greek and Roman art, see Suhr 1953, 259. See also Gagé 1955, 36; Galinsky 1996, 222–223; Kleiner 2005, 175.

⁶⁸ Suhr 1953, 252. See also Ovid *Fasti* 2.305ff; *Her.* 9.53–118; *Amatoria* 2.217.221; Prop. 3.11.17ff, 4.9.45ff. Hekster 2004, 163 mentions that the story is absent in other historians than Plutarch, but he forgets Propertius.

⁶⁹ See Hubbard 2001, 108; Richardson 2006, 359–360. Welch 2005, 124–125 points to Antonius and Cleopatra and anti-Antonian propaganda in both 3.11 and 4.9. According to Richardson 2006, 359 the poem might have been written for the anniversary of the *quinquennial* games at Rome.

⁷⁰ Camps 1966, 108 rightly suggests that Cleopatra was disgraced because she entangled Antonius, the consequences in line 29ff and 58. See also Richardson 2006, 363.

This refers back to line 31 where the marriage between Antonius and Cleopatra is mentioned as a shameful union (*coniugii obsceni*) for which Cleopatra is to be rewarded with Rome itself. But vitally, the reference to the woman and her fornication, even with slaves, most likely refers to the story of Omphale and Hercules.

The Roman galleys are mentioned in line 44 as *rostra Liburna*, the Liburnian ships with rams used by the navy of Octavian.⁷¹ The triumph is next in lines 49–50, mentioned together with the provider Augustus. Leucadian Apollo comes in line 69 and the end of war in line 70.⁷² This is clearly about the battle of Actium and its consequences. Like Camillus mentioned in line 67, Augustus saves Rome.

In Propertius 4.9 about the *Ara Maxima*, Hercules and the festival of *Bona Dea*, the climax is the double humiliation of Hercules; he is a female slave, suggesting that Omphale is the man (4.9.47–50).⁷³ This does not necessarily point to Antonius and Cleopatra, but surely it is a strong possibility.⁷⁴

Looking at the Palatine plaque of the struggle in detail there is information to be added. Hercules, who stands on the right with his right hand on the tripod, is shown in open profile, whereas Apollo's opposing stance, with his right arm to the fore, puts him in closed profile. There are two basic ways of telling the story visually: the 'stand-up fight' with Apollo and Hercules facing each other and the 'running fight', depicting Hercules having seized the tripod and running away with Apollo pursuing him.⁷⁵ It must be stressed that the artist was to some extent

⁷¹ Dio 50.32.2. See Camps 1966, 108; Reinhold 1988, 114.

⁷² Mentioned as Apollo of Leucas, this might still refer to the old temple of Apollo at Actium. See Camps 1966, 112. But even if it refers to Leucas the fact still remains that there is a connection between Apollo and Actium. See Richardson 2006, 368.

⁷³ For the poem, see Richardson 2006, 471, 475 on the humiliation; Hutchinson 2006, 215, who does not suggest Antonius and Cleopatra. On Hercules, Omphale and the triumphs of Octavian, see Grimal 1951. Feeney 2007, 161 observes that Octavian returned to Rome in 29 BC on 12th August, the day of the sacrifice to Hercules Invictus at the *Ara Maxima*, to associate himself with Hercules' ideology. Or perhaps it is more likely to dishonour Antonius and make his own arrival in Rome coincide with the sacrifice to the god of his enemy.

⁷⁴ Hutchinson 2006, 206.

⁷⁵ For the different ways of representing the story, see LIMC 2.1, 1009–1040. The main groups are 1009–1012 with both divinities, facing each other, holding on to the tripod, 1013–1021 with Apollo setting after Hercules, and receiving help from Artemis and Leto, 1022–1033 with Apollo setting after Hercules, and 1040 with the peace between the two combatants. At the outset the story with Apollo with or without help, setting after Hercules, is by far the most popular. See also Parke and Boardman 1957, 278–279; Kellum 1985, 170; Ritter 1995, esp. 130–131.

constrained by a pattern common to all the plaques: all show a vertical central object, faced by two flanking figures.

The first scheme at times involves lifting the tripod from the ground, clearly visible on the Palatine plaque. But the plaque may after all be different from other representations of the story, as subsidiary figures are missing.⁷⁶ This representation on the other hand shows figures not normally part of this story, namely two small *Victoria* statues facing each other on the tripod itself. Since Hekster and Rich have conclusively shown that the temple has nothing to do with the victory over Sextus Pompeius, the battle referred to surely is Actium.

The more common and older of the stories is the second one with Hercules running away, so why was this not chosen instead?⁷⁷ Perhaps the answer is the struggle itself; if this shows Octavian fighting Antonius an outcome with Hercules running away with his prize would hardly be suitable. On the plaque the struggle seems uncertain in outcome, but of course all knew that Octavian and Apollo would prevail in the end. There is no Jupiter and no other gods, there is no running off with the tripod, there is the unlikely possibility of Hercules winning, a peaceful outcome, or perhaps Apollo is trying to take the tripod back contrary to the story on the tripod, without Jupiter's help, but in accordance with the battle of Actium.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Parke and Boardman 1957, 279 (Hermes, Zeus, Athena and Artemis).

⁷⁷ Parke and Boardman 1957, 279; Importantly, as suggested by Kellum 1997, 159–160 the popular model of the Apollo-Hercules-fight is the “classical” model, whereas the one used here is the rare “archaic” one, where Apollo and Hercules are more evenly matched. The “archaic” story may be the main or indeed only reason why the material chosen is that of terracotta and not marble.

⁷⁸ On the Campana plaques, see now Carandini and Bruno 2008, esp. 153–159 (Bruno). The dating of the plaques is essential regarding the question of the connection between Apollo and Actium. According to Bruno the plaques should be attributed to the early stages of the building of the complex, to the house of Octavian, and not to the portico of the Danaids as most scholars assume. The plaques were reemployed (as already Carettoni) as building material and thus their find spot is not their original position (155, 178). The conclusion however seems to rest mainly on the idea that the material of the plaques is not compatible to the marble of the portico, as mentioned by Propertius 2.31 (he does in fact only mention that the columns and the temple itself are in marble). Suet. *Aug.* 29 does seem to suggest a temple complex (and house) and importantly, *RG* 19.1 does mention portico in plural, thus referring not just to the portico of the Danaids. This does suggest a temple and house complex and thus, even if Carandini and Bruno are right, the plaques still belong to the temple and house complex and context. Bruno rightly stresses that the ideological themes of the complex do not necessarily have to belong to the last phase of complex, and may belong to the period just after 36 BC. This conclusion does however not take account of the iconography of the plaques. The connection between tripods, Apollo and Actium is well founded and the story of Apollo and Hercules fighting it out for the tripod, knowing the divine

There is a second terracotta plaque with interest to this matter, as it shows a *baetyl*.⁷⁹ The cult object of Apollo is adorned with lyre, bow and arrow, as symbols of war and peace (Propertius 4.6). As already mentioned this cult object is known from Nicopolis at Actium.⁸⁰ It is also found on wall paintings in the 'Room of the Masks' in the 'House of Augustus' and the 'Triclinium' of the 'House of Livia'.⁸¹ This makes it likely that such a cult object was to be found in the sanctuary itself, dedicated to Apollo.

Gurval suggests that the iconography of the complex does not require Augustan allusions, but he does not engage with the material to explain the meaning of the Danaids and the plaques.⁸² Why exactly were these stories told in the temple? If the two plaques are considered together with the context of the tripod, as mentioned in the RG, it becomes likely that the iconography of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was changed to reflect the battle of Actium, even though it must be accepted that the material is not conclusive. To accept that all elements point to Naulochus seems more than unlikely. The question arises if Octavian would have given his enemy ownership of a god and the answer might be that Antonius was already connected with the god in question, and perhaps the story, where Hercules' figure is negative, was just too good not to use.

Statues of Apollo in the Palatine Sanctuary

A denarius of C. Antistius Vetus from 16 BC, with the reverse depicting *Apollo Actius* with lyre and *patera*, next to an altar and standing on a raised platform, has been much debated. The platform seems to be some kind of *rostra*, with rams visible and flanked by two anchors (RIC 1² 365–6). There seems to be four possibilities about what the coin depicts: a statue in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, a statue on

ancestry of Octavian and Antonius, does seem to suggest Actium. The two small statues of *Victoria* are most logically explained in connection with a victory, which, as shown by Hekster and Rich 2006, 151–152, 165–166, cannot be the battle of Naulochus 36 BC and thus has to be Actium.

⁷⁹ Simon 1986, Taf. 6 for an illustration of the plaque. See also Kellum 1997, 158–159.

⁸⁰ See Tzouvara-Souli 2001, 236–237 on the *baetyl* and the cult of Apollo at Actium and Apollonia.

⁸¹ Hekster and Rich 2006, 167.

⁸² Gurval 1995, 125–126 for the doors and the plaques, but the Danaids are only mentioned at length in notes 90–91 on the scholarship.

the Victory Monument at Actium, a new monument erected around 16 BC, or no monument at all. An Apollo statue with lyre is known from Rome, as Pliny *N.H.* 36.35, in a list of artworks at Rome, mentions one by Timarchides from the Apollo temple *in circo*.⁸³

It might allude to an unknown monument, recently erected and with uncertain location.⁸⁴ There was a revival around that time, with coins showing the victory of Actium and Naulochus, and with Virgil and Propertius taking up the subject again. The Victory Monument at Actium is another possibility.⁸⁵ There most likely was a statue (*hedos*) of Apollo on the upper terrace of the monument or in front of it, and it did have rams, apart from the fact that the epithet *Apollo Actius* seems very fitting. The Apollo found by Zachos on a semicircular base is an Apollo of peace with lyre, but it may not be identical to the *hedos* of the monument and this Apollo does not wear long robes, as the Apollo of the Vetus coin.⁸⁶ Perhaps a coin from Rome would most likely show a monument from Rome, or perhaps even a generic Victory Monument at Actium and Rome.⁸⁷

Like Actium the Palatine can be shown to have a statue, or more correctly, statues of Apollo. Perhaps the Apollo mentioned in Propertius 2.31.5–6, the Apollo with silent lyre, is shown on the coin.⁸⁸ But there are no firm grounds for connecting the two. Zanker suggests that the coin shows that there were rams on the Palatine, a clear connection

⁸³ See Platner and Ashby 1926, 15; Hölscher 2004, 105. See Isager 1998, 162–163 on Pliny.

⁸⁴ Hekster and Rich 2006, 164, 155, n. 29. Supporting the idea that it is no known structure, see Flashar 1992, 42, n. 26; Gurval 1995, 285–87.

⁸⁵ Jucker 1982, 97, building on an old theory by Picard 1957, 260–262, but dismissed by most scholars. He concludes, like Zachos, that Apollo must have had a presence at the monument at Actium (100). See also Carandini and Bruno 2008, 202 (Bruno). This is dismissed by Murray and Petsas 1989, 91, because the sources do not mention this Apollo statue (see also Hekster and Rich 2006, 164, n. 80) and because the sockets have the wrong shape. This does seem an odd dismissal, coins are not accurate. Jucker 1982, 96–100 on the other hand dismisses the theory that the coin shows a statue in front of the temple on the Palatine. This is accepted by Gurval 1995, 285–286. See Stahl 1998, 79–80, n. 46 on some of the recent scholarship. Regarding the link between Diana and Naulochus, see *RIC* 1² 172–3, 181–3, 194–7, 204; Hekster and Rich 2006, 154–155.

⁸⁶ See Zachos 2003, 89.

⁸⁷ Perhaps this revival was meant to remind the Romans of the past deeds of Augustus, but at the same time make a connection to the Parthian settlement of 20 BC and later the *Ara Pacis* in 13 BC. Augustus kept working for the Roman peace. See Rich 2003.

⁸⁸ For this, see Zanker 1983, 31–32 and n. 47; 1990, 90–91, combining the coin with Prop. 2.31.5–8. See also Isager 1998, 406–407; Welch 2005, 83–87; Millar, J.F. 2008, 45, n. 15, supporting Zanker's idea.

with Actium (1990, 90–91). The problem with this theory, as with the unknown monument, is that there is no external evidence to support it; nothing but the coin suggests rams in the Palatine sanctuary. What it does show is that the ideology of the regime, directly or indirectly, produced coins with *Apollo Actius* and rams in 16 BC; this was not isolated to the years just after the battle. And even if there is no sure connection to the Palatine there is no doubt there was a statue, similar to the one shown on the coin, in the sanctuary.

The Sorrento base shows a statue group with three gods, Apollo, Diana and Leto, which equals the description of Propertius 2.31.15–16.⁸⁹ Propertius was very specific and seemingly precise in his description of sites and monuments and the same goes for statues; Apollo in musical guise surely must have been part of the Palatine complex.⁹⁰ This is similar to the Apollo on the Vetus coin and similar to the Apollo of peace in Propertius 4.6.67–70, visiting Actium, but this does not make sure a connection between Apollo of Actium and the Palatine temple before 16 BC. The statue of Apollo on the base is wearing musical dress and is holding a *kithara*.⁹¹ Behind the three gods a tripod is clearly visible, and the information taken together suggests that the Sorrento base is modelled on a statue group on the Palatine. Augustus himself as

⁸⁹ For representations of the three divinities together, see *LIMC* 2.1, 630–666, 630–43 shows Apollo with lyre. Hekster and Rich 2006, 155 rightly conclude that the statue group mentioned in Propertius must be the one the Sorrento base group derives from. See also Carandini and Bruno 2008, 63–67, 202–204 on statues in the temple, esp. 66 on the Sorrento base (Carandini). The gods are Greek originals (Pliny *N.H.* 16.24.25, 32); see Zanker 1990, 242–247. See also a relief from Villa Albani, showing Apollo, Siana and Leto sacrificing, perhaps at the temple of Apollo of the Palatine. *Victoria* is present and a tripod is clearly visible. According to Zanker 1990, 70–73 it belongs to around 30 BC.

⁹⁰ Isager 1998, 406–407. There is an assumption that Apollo on the Palatine is an Apollo of Peace. According to Isager this is a question of minimizing the reminders of civil war (406). More likely Apollo in musical guise does refer to the accomplishment of the triumphal assignment (peace after victory). The Lyon (*RIC* 1² 170–1; 179–80; 190–93) and Vetus' issues (*RIC* 1² 365–6) showing "APOLLO ACT" may indicate monuments and statues. Isager 1998, 408 rightly stresses that there may indeed have been cult statues at Actium similar to the one on the Palatine.

⁹¹ Roccas 1989, 579–580. Traditionally the statue is connected to a Greek original by Skopas mentioned by Pliny *N.H.* 36.36. This seems to complicate the matter more than necessary. What is important is that the group of three gods mentioned by Propertius can also be seen on the base. Pliny does not mention a group of three gods. According to Roccas 1989 the statue group was a newly commissioned work in classicizing style. See also Zanker 1983, 33, 1990, 242; Simon 1986, 24–25. A fourth figure on the base, dated to the Augustan period, might be the Sibyl and thus related to the moving of the books to the Palatine complex (Suet. *Aug.* 31) (24).

mentioned in the RG (24) made a connection between Actium and the Apollo temple on the Palatine, stressing tripods. The likely scenario is that the statue of the Apollo of peace would fit with the triumviral assignment and the universal peace stressed by the regime, in Rome and at Actium, and therefore, it would later become so popular in poetry (Virgil and Propertius).

Looking at representations of Apollo, showing only Apollo, there are numerous possibilities, amongst others Apollo could be represented without attributes (*LIMC* 2.1, kat. no. 5–18), with weapons (18a–81), for instance with his bow, as on the Apollo-Hercules plaque from the Palatine temple of Apollo (67–80).⁹² Apollo could also be portrayed with lyre (82–238), with laurels or other floral ornaments (239–316), shown as having power over animals (317–380), with *genius* in hand (390–397), with *phiale* (398–461), and with other gods (630–985).⁹³ Most of the mentioned representations can then be subdivided: Apollo standing, Apollo seated, Apollo with other divinities etc.

Octavian thus had a choice and he chose Apollo the bringer of peace, as on the semicircular base showing Apollo with lyre and 11 other gods.⁹⁴ Apollo with lyre is also central to the poetry of Propertius (2.31.5–6), on the Sorrento base, showing most likely a statue group from the Palatine temple (Prop. 2.31.15–16), on the coin of Vetus (*RIC* 1² 365–6), and from the site of the house of Augustus on the Palatine.⁹⁵

The strongest suggestion of a connection between *Apollo Palatinus* and Actium is Actium itself; this was the god who gave Octavian the victory together with Mars and Neptune. The plaques with Apollo and Hercules and the small *Victoria* figures also point to Actium, and the *baetyl* to Apollonia and Nicopolis. The Apollo in musical guise, the Apollo of peace, works less convincingly with 36 BC because there is no connection between the temple and the victory over Sextus Pompeius.

⁹² Pliny's description of the Apollo statues in the *Apollo Sosianus* temple also suggests that there were more than one possibility (*N.H.* 36.34–35: a naked Apollo and Apollo with lyre are mentioned). See Isager 1991, 162–163.

⁹³ On the iconography of Apollo with lyre, see Flashar 1992.

⁹⁴ Zachos 2003, 89: Apollo is shown with lyre, the Apollo of peace.

⁹⁵ Tomei 1998, 37, showing a fresco with Apollo with lyre. A series of aurei and denarii issued at Lugdunum 15–10 BC commemorates Actium (and Naulochus). The reverse of the issues show Apollo with lyre, in long drapery as on the Sorrento base and the Vetus coin, and the legend "ACT" (*RIC* 1² 170–1, 179–80, 190–3). See Hekster and Rich 2006, 154–155.

The battle of Actium seems to have changed the iconography of the temple on the Palatine.

Summing up, the Apollo temple most likely changed into a victory monument, but also stressing peace after war, as elsewhere in Rome and onsite at Actium. The Apollo of peace in Propertius 4.6.31ff is striking as he appears as the lyre-player rather than the archer. This would indeed have been fitting also for the Apollo at Actium (the *hedos* on the Victory Monument), as the Victory Monument was a monument celebrating victory and peace. Vitally, it is more than likely that the Romans of 28 BC would have connected *Apollo Palatinus* and the battle of Actium.

6.3. Res publica constituta: *the settlement of 28–27 BC*

This section is not a discussion of the so-called *res publica restituta*, but will instead suggest that the settlement of 28–27 BC equals the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. The pretext of the triumvirate was to constitute the *res publica*. As mentioned in chapter 1 and 2 the triumvirs promised to give back their triumviral powers on more than one occasion, in accordance with the original assignment to constitute the *res publica* (*triumviri rei publicae constituendae*). This ‘problem’ had to be addressed at some point, as the accomplishment of the assignment meant that the job was done, but this could hardly be claimed before the powers were given back to the Senate and the people.

After the victory at Actium and Alexandria there was only one ‘triumvir’ left. The closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC symbolises that universal peace had been established, as the foreign and civil wars had been ended, and thus the next logical step was the settlement of 28–27 BC. As mentioned in chapter 2 the triumvirate was not due to lapse at its terminal date of 31st December 33 BC, but would remain in force until its holders abdicated. This view of Mommsen’s has now received clarification by Vervaet (2008). As Coli and Vervaet argue, duration to abdication was characteristic of all those magistracies which were held not for the year, but for specific purposes, such as the dictatorship or censorship, although specific terms were often assigned. The fact that Octavian did not use the title after 33 BC should not be confused with the idea that they had lost the triumviral powers.

The process of returning the powers of the triumvirate to the Senate and the people began in 28 BC, as mentioned so conspicuously in RG 34.1:

In consulatu sexto et septimo, postquam bella civilia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium, rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populiue Romani arbitrium transtuli.

In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished civil wars, and at a time when with universal consent I was in complete control of affairs, I transferred the *res publica* from my power to the dominion of the Senate and people of Rome (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).⁹⁶

The settlement of 28–27 BC was a process, as Augustus mentions two years, not a single act, as in Dio (53.2.6–22.5). This is supported by a new aureus of Octavian, dated to 28 BC. The reverse of the coin shows Octavian, togate, seated on the *sella curulis*, holding a scroll; the legend reads: “LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT”.⁹⁷ Although the new aureus uses the word *restituere*, this cannot with any certainty show that Augustus claimed to have restored the state.⁹⁸

A large issue of cistophoric tetradrachms was struck in Asia, perhaps at Ephesus, in 28 BC (*RIC* 1² 476). This celebrates the ending of the war against Cleopatra and Antonius and has the phrase “LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX” as its obverse legend; the reverse legend shows a personification of *Pax*. This issue refers to the political settlement of 28–27 BC, as does the new aureus mentioned above. This might go back to a decree of the Senate, with “LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT” as the ground for conferring an honour on Octavian, the honour itself being the title

⁹⁶ Botteri 2003, 264 has found a new fragment of the *RG*. This fragment from Antiochia shows that *potens* is the correct reading of *RG* 34.1, not *potitus*. See also Drew-Bear and Scheid 2005, esp. 233–236. Lebek 2004, 60 points out that the idea of *potens*, goes back to Kassel. See Krömer 1978, 135 for this. See Lebek for scholarship on the issue. The reading *per consensum universorum* [*potitus rerum omn*]ium goes back to Mommsen 1883. After the findings of Ramsey, see Ramsey and von Premserstein 1927, 95 and Tab. XIV with the fragment containing the letters M and OM: [*potitus rer*]um om[n]ium. On the vast amount of scholarship on *RG* 34, see Ramage 1987, 154–157.

Regarding the period between 32 BC and 27 BC, see Fadinger 1969, 144 and 302–303. Fadinger also observes that it is impossible to see any difference in relation to Octavian's powers between the year 33 and 32 BC (137).

⁹⁷ Rich and Williams 1999, not refuted by Mantovani 2008. A new specimen discovered in Blackburn confirms the authenticity of the aureus. See Abdy and Harling 2005, 175–176. See also Koortbojian 2006, 189–190, who observes that the ‘rights and laws’ were the traditional responsibility of the magistrate, whereas victory was regarded as a benefit of the gods; this changed with the victory coins Octavian. Contrary to the view that the settlement was a process, see Turpin 1994, 431–437, suggesting oddly that 28 BC is mentioned but of no importance. He also suggests that the consensus mentioned in *RG* 34.1 is about 27 BC, and does not go back to 32 BC. This neglects the inner logic of the *RG* and the historical context. Millar 1973, 61–67 and Judge 1974 express doubt about the modern consensus that Augustus claimed to have restored the *res publica*.

⁹⁸ Rich and Williams 1999, 204–212.

“LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX”.⁹⁹ This is all in perfect agreement with the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment.

According to Dio (53.2.5) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.28.1–2) the illegal acts of the triumviral period were annulled in 28 BC; both authors stress the difference between war and peace.¹⁰⁰ Are we to believe that the acts of Octavian were ratified in 29 BC (Dio 51.20.1) and now partly cancelled? There is nothing to suggest that the regime saw the triumvirate as anything but legal and thus this information is a surprise. Perhaps this must be seen together with the acceptance of the war against Antonius and Cleopatra as a civil war; not all had been perfect, but it was time to move on.

Thus the ending of the civil wars was honoured with the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC and the *leges et iura* were restored in 28 BC. Turning to 27 BC, the armies and provinces were given back on 13th January 27 BC.¹⁰¹ Saving the *res publica* was the claim made by Octavian; this is only possible if the powers were given back, otherwise the *res publica* could hardly be claimed to have been saved.¹⁰² As we saw above (2.2), Octavian will not have spoken of laying down his position as triumvir in the senate on 13th January 27 BC (as is maintained by Vervaet, 2008). However, he was then carrying out the long delayed handover which had been a requirement of the ‘triumviral assignment’ and to which he and Antonius had looked forward in their statements about resignation. The triumvirate lapsed at the end of 33 BC, but the assignment was not accomplished and thus Antonius and Octavian

⁹⁹ Rich and Williams 1999, esp. 187.

¹⁰⁰ According to Rich and Williams 1999, 197 this might have been a mere declaration with little practical effect. According to Kienast 1999, 82–83 Octavian was ready, for all to see, to change what he had done illegally during the civil wars.

¹⁰¹ See Rich and Williams 1999, esp. 198–202, rejecting Dio, but accepting that the armies and provinces were given back on 13th January.

¹⁰² Regarding the settlement in January 27 BC, see also Livy *Per.* 134, on the provinces, but he does not mention the surrender of power; Vell. 2.89.3–4, stresses restoration, but is vague and does not mention the powers of Augustus; Suet. *Aug.* 7.2; 28.1; 47 claims that he thought about restoring the *res publica*, but did not. See Carter 1982, 127–128. A fundamental problem is Livy 3.20.1, stressing the concept *res publica restituta*, but isolated from the settlement of 27 BC, or indeed a restoration of the *res publica* in general (rightly so Galinsky 1996, 64). Strangely enough Tacitus does not mention this settlement (*Ann.* 1.2 and 3.28). See Rich and Williams 1999, 193. Dio gives the most detailed account on the issue: 53.2.6–22.5 on the provinces and 52.1–41.2 on the Agrippa-Maecenas-debate, whether Octavian should retain or give up power. See Rich 1990 and Rich and Williams 1999, 195–197, concluding that Dio is wrong on his timing, as the giving back of power is a process of 28–27 BC. Regarding the sources, see also Millar 1973, 61–67. See also Vervaet 2008.

kept their powers. Importantly, after Antonius' deprivation of power (Dio 50.4.3) in 32 BC there was only one remaining triumvir, and he carefully avoided using or alluding to the title. Being sole triumvir was a very problematic position.

Augustus thus chose to describe the wide-ranging nature of his powers by resorting to the formulation found in *RG* 34.1. Importantly, this surely equals the surrender of the extraordinary powers of the triumvirate to the Senate and people, as the assignment had been successfully been carried out.¹⁰³ The question is of course if Augustus claimed, as suggested by most scholars, to have restored the *res publica*. It seems vital that *RG* 34 does not use the word *restituere*.¹⁰⁴

Looking in more detail on the *RG*, the inscription appears to have an introduction and a conclusion: chapters 1–2, perhaps including 3 and chapters 34–35.¹⁰⁵ *RG* 2 reads:

Qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.

I drove into exile the murderers of my father, avenging their crime through tribunals established by law; and afterwards, when they made war on the republic, I twice defeated them in battle (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

RG 3.1 constitutes in many ways a small conclusion of the inscription right at the outset. It reads:

Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi,...

I undertook many civil and foreign wars by land and sea throughout the world,... (trans. Brunt and Moore 1967).

¹⁰³ For discussions of the surrender of powers in 27 BC, see Syme 1939, 313–330; Lacey 1996, 77–99; Kienast 1999, 78–98; Rich and Williams 1999, 188–212, page 190, n. 71 with bibliography on this question. According to Mommsen 1887b 2.1, 702–742, esp. 718–20; Fadinger 1969, 143–149 the powers given back in 27 BC were the powers of the triumvirate. See also Girardet 1990, 324, n. 4; Brunt and Moore 1967, 48–49; Rich 1992, 1114; Vervaeke 2008. According to Feeney 1983, 25 it was of lesser importance if Augustus restored the *res publica*. The vital question is if the Romans “in sufficient numbers” thought he did. But surely the first question ought to be if Augustus ever claimed to have restored the *res publica*.

¹⁰⁴ On this discussion, see Rich and Williams 1999, 204–212.

¹⁰⁵ According to Ramage 1987, 38, 59, 71 *res publica* in the *RG* means Republic (not state) and thus *RG* 34.1 is about the restoration of the *res publica/libertas*. Girardet 1993, 209 also connects *RG* 1 and 34 to conclude that this was about the restoration of the *res publica*. On the concept of ‘*res publica*’, see Brunt 1988, 299. It may be translated as “state” or “that which belongs to or concerns the people”.

This is very close to RG 13 and the slogan of peace through victory. According to Gruen, “the *Res Gestae* places emphasis not on peace but on pacification”.¹⁰⁶ He stresses foreign not civil wars. However, Weinstock demonstrated many years ago that the peace of the Augustan era was not only a question of expansion, but also a question of civil war: *pax* is both internal and external.¹⁰⁷ Dio comes closest of the sources to understanding the context of Actium and the war against Antonius and Cleopatra, stating that the war was declared on Cleopatra, in reality of course, against Antonius (50.4.5). There was going to be a civil war, the question was who was going to start it. In the end Antonius and Cleopatra did, moving their troops close to Italy (Actium and Patrae); when Antonius in the end did help Cleopatra at Actium, he became automatically an enemy of Rome. He started the civil war.

And in RG 34, the conclusion of the RG, the ending of the civil wars appears prominently. Thus the RG does seem to reveal itself as Augustus’ ‘commentaries’ on the civil wars. The triumvirate is only very loosely defined in RG 1.4, but Caesar is avenged in chapter 2 and the civil war ended in chapter 34.1. Egypt is mentioned in RG 27.1 as a foreign expansion and thus the victory over Egypt and Cleopatra cannot constitute the ending of the civil wars, as mentioned in RG 34.1. The ending of the civil wars thus cannot exclude Actium (RG 25.2). RG 2 constitutes a partial success in the constituting of the *res publica* and RG 34 the accomplishment of the assignment.

The triumviral assignment, including the civil war, is thus the setting in the preface and conclusion of the RG. Moreover, these parameters are found in the three opening chapters (RG 3, 15 and 25) of the main sections of the RG, *honores* (RG 3–14), *impensae* (RG 15–24) and *res gestae* proper (RG 25–33): RG 3 on the civil wars, RG 15 on the giving of money to the poor in Rome in accordance with the will of Caesar, and RG 25 on Naulochus and Actium. Similarly for the closing chapters: RG 24 as already mentioned; RG 33 focuses on the fruits of peace, with RG 14.1 mentioning Gaius and Lucius as the possible exception. Even if the traditionally perceived tripartite structure of the inscription should

¹⁰⁶ Gruen 1985, 54; Syme 1989, 116.

¹⁰⁷ Weinstock 1960, 45. On *pax* and victory, see Harris 1979, 35; Rich 2003. Harris 1979, 36 traces this idea back to Sulla and the civil wars; civil war meant peace between citizens became vital. The blurring of civil and foreign war is obvious in Virg. *Aen.* 8.685ff, mentioning both Antonius and Cleopatra as the enemies. According to DeBrohun 2007, 256 the Romans made a clear distinction between foreign and civil war. This is clearly wrong.

be dismissed as too rigid, it is still necessary to explain why specific things are mentioned and in what context.

Returning to the powers of the triumvirate, the inscription might reveal even more. Augustus in *RG* 34.1 describes his own powers in 28–27 BC as *potens rerum omnium* (I was in possession of all things). Octavian was still triumvir till he chose to abdicate, but without using the title triumvir after 33 BC. All the powers in the *res publica* cannot be explained by the powers of the consul (Octavian held this continuously from 31 BC). *Potens rerum omnium* clearly focuses on Octavian's position prior to the surrender of these powers in 28–27 BC and not 32 BC, but since no decision is known giving Octavian all powers in the state, this should be seen rather as a statement of the position established *de facto* through the victory over Antonius. There is no new command in *RG* 25 or in our external sources.

As mentioned in chapter 2 the oath of allegiance to Octavian in the year 32 BC is best seen as some kind of political justification. In the *RG* Augustus does not set out to describe his powers and positions in constitutional terms. This is also the reason for relating that more than seven hundred senators served under him during the battle of Actium (*RG* 25). This oath leads to *per consensum universorum potens rerum omnium* (*RG* 34.1). The consensus justified the fact that Octavian was still in possession of the triumviral powers; it justified him fighting for the *res publica* against the enemies Cleopatra and Antonius.¹⁰⁸ This is similar to the way in which the two triumvirs divided the *potestas* of Lepidus in 36 BC; Octavian now was in complete possession of all powers in the *res publica* because he defeated Antonius in battle.¹⁰⁹ The powers that had been shared between the triumvirs devolved to Octavian, which made him in effect *potens rerum omnium*.

That Octavian was fighting for the *res publica* is visible in the external evidence as well. Part of the inscription of Octavian's Victory Monument at Actium reads:

vacat Imp · Caesa[r] · Div[i · Iuli ·]f · vict[oriam · consecutus · bell]o · quod · pro [·r]e[·]p[u]blic[a] · ges[si]t · in · hac · region[e]

Imperator Caesar, son of the Divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the *res publica* in this region, ... (trans. Murray and Petsas 1989: 86, 76 for the Latin original).

¹⁰⁸ Von Premerstein 1937, 36–60; Fadinger 1969, 315–332; Kienast 1999, 67–69.

¹⁰⁹ App. *BC* 5.1. Fadinger 1969, 296–303.

Pro republica does seem to point in the same direction as RG 2. This is also close to *re publica conservata*, on an inscription firmly dated to 29 BC, found in the *Forum Romanum*, and most likely to have come from the Actian arch. Similarly, the 1st Augustus 30 BC, the day of the capture of Alexandria, was *feriae* because Octavian “freed the *res publica* from very grave danger (*rem publicam tristissimo periculo liberavit*).¹¹⁰

This Octavian could only claim if he also constituted the *res publica*. After having accomplished the triumviral assignment the *res publica* was indeed constituted; RG 34 constitutes the giving back of the powers of the triumvirate to the Senate and people. The assignment had been accomplished successfully, the civil war was terminated.

RG 13 and the closing of Janus are also clearly connected to Actium because of the similar wording of the inscription of the Victory Monument at Actium (see chapter 4). The peace is surely the peace mentioned in RG 34.1—peace after civil war, thus also stressing that the assignment of the triumvirate had been carried out.

Having transferred the triumviral powers to the Senate and people, Augustus was given a range of honours, as ‘nobody’, including himself, wanted him as a *privatus*. He was given an oak crown for “saving the citizens”, according to the Fasti of Praeneste (13th January), and the title of Augustus (Fasti of Praeneste gives 16th January as the date, Ovid *Fasti* 1.590 13th, the *Feriale* of Cumae 15th, and Censorinus *de die natali* 21.8 17th).¹¹¹ Importantly, the transferring of powers to the Senate and people must have happened on 13th January, when the Senate started to confer honours on Octavian.¹¹² According to Ovid “On that day, too, every province was restored to our people” (*Fasti* 1.589: “*redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro*”) on 13th January.¹¹³ Rich and Williams rightly observe that neither Ovid nor Augustus in the RG make reference to the fact that Augustus subsequently agreed to retain a share of the provinces, but this was of course known by all and could thus be isolated from the honours of 27 BC.¹¹⁴

One reason why Augustus retained the consulship every year down to 23 BC may have been that it effectively postponed the issue of his

¹¹⁰ Rich 1998, 100–114 and Rich and Williams 1999, 184–185 on the inscription (EJ 17) and the arch. For the 1st August, see EJ, p. 49.

¹¹¹ See Degraffi 1963, 112–15, 279, 396–400 regarding the Fasti of Praeneste and the *Feriale* of Cumae. See Rich and Williams 1999, 191.

¹¹² Rich and Williams 1999, 191.

¹¹³ Trans. Frazer 1931.

¹¹⁴ Rich and Williams 1999, 191.

place within the state. But as mentioned, even though Octavian gave all provinces back to the *res publica*, the Senate subsequently gave a bulk of them back to Augustus.¹¹⁵ This was justified in the same way as the triumviral assignment; Augustus retained the provinces and the army because he had an assignment, in this case the empire-wide pacification. This is what Dio describes as “the overall care and leadership (*prostasia*) of the state”.¹¹⁶ The provinces were only accepted for a limited period (ten years), as mentioned by Dio 53.12.2, but perhaps Augustus always intended this period to be prolonged, as the assignment was still not accomplished.¹¹⁷ This happened in 18 BC, Augustus accepting a five-year renewal, soon extended to ten, and then again for ten years in 8 BC, AD 3 and AD 13.¹¹⁸ The triumviral assignment thus became the model for Augustus’ retaining of the powers needed to carry out the tasks presented to him by the Senate and the people.

6.4. *The return to normality*

In connection with his victories and his triple triumph Octavian participated in the refurbishment and reshaping of Rome, not least the *Forum Romanum*. The old political centre of the *res publica* now commemorated the victories of Octavian. The arch of Actium and the naval spoils all point to the centrality of the battle of Actium in the ideology of the regime, but there were both spoils of Actium (rams) and riches of Egypt. The triumviral assignment is clearly visible in these commemorations, including the temple of *Divus Julius*, spoils from the victories and an inscription found in the Forum and dated to 29 BC, clearly stressing that the *res publica* was *conservata*. This most likely belonged to the Actian arch, but even if not, it still shows the ideology of the regime in 29 BC; Octavian had saved Rome from grave danger. The *Victoria* statue in the *Curia* and the triumph itself clearly stress

¹¹⁵ See Millar 1989, 93–97, stressing that this division was formally between the Roman people and Augustus; Rich 1990, 141–143; Rich 2003, 346–347. Augustus did not monopolise the legions in 27 BC, as there were legions in public provinces. See Rich 1990, 140. The imperial provinces in 27 BC were Gaul, Spain, Syria and Egypt (Dio 53.12.4–8). See Rich 1990, 141.

¹¹⁶ See Liebeschuetz 1986, 345–65; Rich 1999, 139–140; Rich and Williams 1999, 212.

¹¹⁷ See Rich 2003, 347.

¹¹⁸ Dio 53.16.2; 54.12.4–5; 55.6.1; 12.3; 56.28.1; 39.6. See Rich 2003, 348.

that this saving of the *res publica*, the bringing of peace, was a product of war, of victory.

One question that has been debated substantially is the possible connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium; did the temple, announced in 36 BC, after lightning struck, turn into a victory monument after Actium, celebrating this particular victory, or did that happen later with the *Aeneid* and Propertius 4.6? The *quinquennial* games held in 28 BC are most likely connected with the temple of Apollo and are thus a link between Rome and Actium, between the games at Rome and the similar games at Actium to Apollo. The fact that Propertius 2.31 and Horace *Odes* 1.31 do not tell us why the temple was built hardly shows that the link to Actium was non-existent before the *Aeneid*.

A vital part of this discussion on iconography is a plaque from the temple complex, depicting the fight between Apollo and Hercules over the tripod. The tripod was used as a symbol of *libertas* in Late Republican Rome. Antonius' divine imitation was directed primarily towards Dionysus, but it was well known that his ancestor was Hercules. Propertius 3.11 and 4.9 suggests a connection between Antonius/Hercules, Cleopatra and the battle of Actium. But would Octavian give Antonius ownership of a god? The answer might be that the story was too good not to use and that Hercules was portrayed negatively in this particular story.

The plaque itself also holds more than is normally assumed. Two small statues of *Victoria* on the tripod suggest a victory and Actium is the only logical possibility, as the temple was not associated with the battle of Naulochus. A second plaque showing a *baetyl* might also point to Actium. Furthermore, there was an Apollo statue, one of several, in the temple complex showing Apollo as a lyre player, the Apollo of peace. The celebration of peace is connected to Actium and the Victory Monument at Actium, as it is part of the triumviral assignment. Even though the evidence is circumstantial, it is hard to believe that the Romans in 28 BC would have made no connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium.

The reshaping of Rome was part of a return to normality after the civil war. It all was centred round the constituting of the *res publica*, or the settlement of 28–27 BC. After having saved the *res publica* Octavian needed to give his powers back, as the assignment of the triumvirate had been accomplished. Of course “nobody”, least of all Octavian, wanted him to become a *privatus* and thus in 27 BC he was given honours

and powers. The justification was fairly similar to the one used for the triumvirate. Augustus was to retain provinces and armies because he had a new assignment, in this case empire-wide pacification.

This process is described in *RG* 34.1; together with *RG* 1–3 this shows the huge importance of the triumviral assignment in the official ideology. The *res publica* was constituted in 28–27 BC and the powers of the triumvirate were given back. In *RG* 34.1 Augustus describes the powers given back in 27 BC as *potens rerum omnium*. These powers are hard to define without the triumvirate, and certainly cannot be explained with the powers of a consul. They are best traced back to 32 BC, as the consensus of *RG* 34.1 most likely is the oath of 32 BC, which is best seen as piece of political justification. In *RG* 34.1 the civil wars are ended, as the *res publica* was saved; the assignment had been successfully accomplished. A close reading of the *RG* suggests that although this was accomplished by the victories at Actium and Alexandria, the new regime stressed *pax* as much as victory.

CONCLUSION

Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant: per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.

As he sailed by the gulf of Puteoli, it happened that from an Alexandrian ship which had just arrived there, the passengers and crew, clad in white, crowned with garlands, and burning incense, lavished upon him good wishes and the highest praise, saying that it was through him they lived, through him that they sailed the seas, and through him they enjoyed their liberty and their fortunes (Suet. *Aug.* 98.2) (trans. Rolfe 1951).

The story belongs to the time just before the death of Augustus, when he was on his way to *quinquennial* games at Neapolis, held in his honour (Dio 55.10.9; 56.29.2; Vell. 2.123.1). The religious character of the setting is obvious; it sounds like a prayer to a god.¹ Even though it is not mentioned directly by Suetonius, liberty was the result of the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment, and thus the bringing of peace, at least in the ideology of the regime. The triumvirate was thus vital for the establishment of the Principate. Whoever “invented” this and similar stories, focused on the positive result of the civil wars more than on the actual fighting. But there is no reason not to believe that most Romans of the period would have agreed: Augustus had brought peace after civil war.² This should of course not be confused with the absence of war; the Romans wanted internal peace, they were not against Roman expansion.

As has been shown, the triumvirate was an assignment with the main task of ending the civil war, pursuing and punishing the remaining assassins of Caesar, and constituting the *res publica*. The title of the triumvirate was at the same time its justification; the triumvirs’ task was to ‘constitute’ the *res publica*, to set the state to right. This is how Augustus justifies it in the *RG*, where chapter 1 stresses the triumvirate

¹ Carter 1982, 203–204.

² For the epigraphic celebrations of the peace of Augustus, see esp. *EJ* 42, 98 = Cooley 2003 K28, H34. Cf. Rich 2003, 332.

with full title and chapter 2 mentions the murderers of Caesar, making war on the *res publica*.

The murderers of Caesar were defeated by Antonius and Octavian at Philippi. At first the jobs at hand could realistically be done in five years. This was in the end not the case and thus a second five-year period was necessary (agreed at Tarentum 37 BC), to accomplish successfully the new tasks of Parthia and Sextus Pompeius. This was in fact agreed at Brundisium in 40 BC and constitutes a vital change in the justification of the triumvirate, as the foreign war against Parthia became part of the new tasks of the triumvirs. Similar fixed-term assignments are the standard justification used by Augustus during his reign from 27 BC (see below). In 36 BC Octavian defeated 'the pirate' Sextus Pompeius at Naulochus (RG 25.1).

The return to normality in 36 BC (burning of debts, documents relating to the conflict etc.) gives us a taste of Octavian's actions after Actium and Alexandria. A skirmish with Lepidus after Naulochus led to his dismissal from the triumvirate and thus the Roman Empire was divided into two parts. In 36 BC Octavian also decided to declare publicly the end of the civil wars, as he, according to himself, had accomplished his part of the assignment of the triumvirs. Perhaps the final war against Antonius and Cleopatra was not yet perceived, even though it must have seemed a possibility at this stage. But the marriage between Octavia and Antonius bound the triumvirs together, and success in Parthia would have hugely enhanced Antonius' prestige. It seems vital to stress its non-inevitability in 36 BC.

The year 36 BC, when lightning struck the Palatine near the house of Octavian, also saw a special relationship between Apollo and Octavian strengthened. His role in the victories of Octavian was set, even though he had no role in the victory over Sextus Pompeius, with which his sister Diana was the associated divinity. The role of Apollo as Octavian's patron god prior to 36 BC is problematic, but taken together the evidence points to an early connection, very likely going back to Octavian's stay at Apollonia when Caesar was murdered.

After Octavian had successfully ended the civil wars and Antonius had reorganised the east after his victory over Armenia in 34 BC the triumviral assignment had almost been accomplished; what remained was for Antonius to accomplish the additional assignment of Parthia. At some point the two triumvirs would have to decide how to give back the triumviral powers to the state. Each made proposals, but on terms

that the other would find it impossible to accept. Thus the relationship between the triumvirs deteriorated. At the same time Antonius resumed his relationship with the queen of Egypt. He did altogether not help himself, as the despatch offering to lay down the triumviral powers also contained the so-called Donations of Alexandria, giving among other things Roman land to foreigners. The will of Antonius later followed, with his wish to be buried in Alexandria, not Rome.

Even though Augustus stressed that he was *triumvir per continuos annos decem* (RG 7.1), the triumvirate was not due to lapse at its terminal date of 31st December 33 BC, but remained in force until its holders abdicated, as Mommsen argued, supported more recently by Coli and Vervaeke. However, because Antonius' deprivation of power (Dio 50.4.3) in 32 BC left Octavian as the sole holder of the office, it surely made the title ("member of a board of three") inappropriate. As the only remaining triumvir he thus carefully avoided using or alluding to the title.

At the Senate meeting in January 32 BC the consuls and a smaller number of senators decided to flee to the camp of Antonius. Octavian brilliantly countered the fact that Antonius could claim to fight for the *res publica*, both consuls being on his side, with the *coniuratio Italiae*. Both 'triumvirs' presented themselves as fighting for the *res publica* against foreign and civil enemies. In the end war was declared on Cleopatra, most likely because she was with Antonius in Greece. Most likely they were not planning to invade Italy, but for the contemporaries the question arose: what was she doing with an army if not attacking Italy? Antonius himself was not declared a *hostis*, because Octavian did not want to provoke a renewed outbreak of the civil wars he had ended in 36 BC. But if Antonius decided to help Cleopatra, he would be making war on his own country, i.e. a civil war.

Amongst scholars the standard perception of the war against Antonius and Cleopatra is that it was declared on Cleopatra, and that the ideology of the regime tried to conceal that Actium was a civil war. This is wrong, as the sources, contemporary and later, are in agreement that the war at Actium was both a foreign and a civil war, as also stressed in the RG. The ideology of the regime never denied or downplayed the civil war aspect.

The battle of Actium was a huge success, as it was the battle that effectively decided the war. What was left was the final defeat of Antonius and Cleopatra, but conquering Egypt was only a postscript to Actium. This campaign could rightly be called *Bellum Actiacum Alexandrinumque*,

even though there were two separate theatres of war and two separate victories and triumphs. The war was decisively won at Actium, but ended at Alexandria.

Octavian decided to commemorate his victory at Actium with an elaborate Victory Monument outside the newly founded Greek city (at least predominantly) of Nicopolis. Even though it may rightly be called a Victory Monument, as it displayed the rams as symbols of victory, it also announced peace in its inscription. This symbolises the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment. At this stage there are many unanswered questions, which must await further publications by Zachos, but till then more can be derived from the inscription, which has been surprisingly understudied, especially in its ideological context.

In the official ideology Octavian received divine help at Actium: the monument was dedicated to Mars and Neptune, but Apollo, who already had a temple at Actium, received a number of onsite commemorations and seems to have had a statue (*hedos*) on the upper part or in front of the monument. The monument's inscription most likely belongs to the year 29 BC, after the capture of Egypt, but still stresses that Actium brought peace to Rome.

Pace parata terra marique is traditionally connected to the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 BC and must have been used in the SC in which the honour of closing the temple was mentioned, but most likely originates with the despatch from Octavian to the Senate after his victory. It is very possible that the phrase even goes back to the victory over Sextus Pompeius and the ending of the civil war in 36 BC. *Pro republica* might point in the direction of the triumvirate, as it is close to the description in RG 2. Furthermore, the *re publica conservata* on an inscription from 29 BC, most likely to have come from the Actian arch, the obverse legend *Libertatis P R Vindex* on a contemporary cistophorus, whose reverse commemorates *pax*, and the *corona obsidionalis*, a military distinction given to Octavian for saving the community, all point to the defence of the liberty of the Roman people (close to RG 1.1). All this material must be seen in relation to the war against Antonius and Cleopatra. This should all be seen in connection with the triumvirate and gives the monument at Actium a very Roman context.

Of course this does not exclude the possibility that the monument was also used in a local context, but it was surely intended for Romans. The fact that the inscription is in Latin, not Greek, something that has been almost universally ignored by scholars, shows its connections to

Rome. There is a clear connection between the regime's ideology as deduced from the Victory Monument and later the *RG*: the stressing of the triumvirate and, related to that, of peace obtained through victory, the description of the battle of Actium as a campaign and the relative importance of Actium over Alexandria.

The honours conferred on Octavian after the victories at Actium and Alexandria, as listed by Dio, are surprisingly understudied. They were honours for the absent victor. It appears the honours given after Actium did not take into account that a new set of honours would be needed after Alexandria and thus one war in the end produced two triumphs. The honours were presented to Octavian because of his accomplishment of the assignment of the triumvirate. Apollo was also thanked at Rome for his contribution to the victory at Actium. The *quinquennial* games seem to have been prompted by the games at Actium. Alexandria was celebrated on 1st August; the battle of Actium received two days: the anniversary of the battle and the birthday of Octavian. The '*damnatio memoriae*' of Antonius initiated by the Senate is an example of an honour rejected by Octavian. Antonius was dishonoured by not being mentioned, but he was not forgotten; '*damnatio memoriae*' was a very flexible tool.

No honour pleased Octavian more than the closing of the temple of Janus. The stressing of peace more than war seems an invention by Octavian and the connection between the closing and the *augurium salutis* is clearly a novelty. The first closing under Octavian seems to have appeared before his return to Rome in 29 BC, as a result of the ending of the civil wars and the freeing of the *res publica* from grave danger.

The triple triumph of 29 BC was the visible proof of the victories of Octavian. They were different as wars and as triumphs, and they were commemorated differently. There is a clear ambivalence in the ancient evidence towards the question of how to conceptualize the victories, as there was a single war, but two triumphs. In the 'Augustan' evidence 'Actium' is sometimes used to describe the war against Antonius and Cleopatra, including Alexandria. They were different as victories, as Actium produced rams and Egypt produced riches. However, the question of the relative importance of the two victories should not be overemphasized; Octavian ended the civil wars and conquered Egypt. But importantly, the ideology stressed at Actium clearly equals the one at Rome. Octavian and the Senate worked together on the commemoration of the victories of Octavian. They showed the importance

of the two victories and at the same time stressed the importance of the triumviral assignment.

In connection with his victories and his triple triumph Octavian participated in the refurbishment of Rome, first of all the *Forum Romanum*. The arch of Actium and the naval spoils all point to the importance of the battle of Actium. Again, the triumviral assignment is clearly visible in these commemorations, including the temple of *Divus Julius* with rams, spoils from the victories and an inscription from the arch of Actium, clearly stressing that the *res publica* was *conservata*.

More problematic is the question of the connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and Actium. The temple, announced in 36 BC, did most likely turn into a victory monument after Actium, giving Apollo the role at Rome he had onsite at Actium. Virgil's *Aeneid* and Propertius 4.6 did not invent this connection, but instead supported the claims made by the regime. The *quinquennial* games held in 28 BC are most likely connected to the temple of Apollo and thus constitute a link between Rome and Actium.

The iconography of the temple is disputed, but a plaque depicting the fight between Apollo and Hercules over the Delphic tripod has been understudied in this connection. The tripod was used as a symbol of *libertas* in Republican Rome. Antonius' divine imitation was directed primarily towards Dionysus, but it was well known that his ancestor was Hercules. Normally Octavian would hardly give Antonius ownership of a god, but perhaps the story was too good not to use, especially as Hercules was portrayed negatively in this particular story. The plaque itself surprisingly has two small statues of *Victoria* on the tripod, suggesting a victory; Actium is the only logical possibility, as the temple was not associated with the battle of Naulochus (Diana). This is the old story of good versus evil and in the end Apollo/Octavian prevailed.

Furthermore, there was an Apollo statue in the temple complex showing Apollo with a lyre, symbolising Apollo as the bringer of peace. This is again similar to the Victory Monument at Actium and suggests the triumviral assignment. Even though the evidence is circumstantial, it is difficult to believe that the Romans in 28 BC would have made no connection between the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the battle of Actium.

After having claimed to have saved the *res publica* Octavian needed to give his powers back to the Senate and the People, as the assignment of the triumvirate had been accomplished, but also to claim the accomplishment itself. The ending of the civil wars was in principle the result

of the victory against Antonius and Cleopatra, but in the *RG* Egypt is portrayed as a foreign expansion (27.1) and thus Actium (25.2) must be the victory that ended the civil wars. The blurring of foreign and civil war and the fact that this was the same war makes this conclusion more difficult, but still the most likely, based on the ancient evidence.

The '*res publica constituta*', the settlement of 28–27 BC, which equals the accomplishment of the triumviral assignment (*triumviri rei publicae constituendae*), was the result of the ending of the civil wars and the freeing of the *res publica* from grave danger. The triumvirate lapsed at the end of 33 BC, but the assignment was not accomplished and thus Antonius and Octavian kept their powers. These powers, equalling all the powers in the state, were given back to the *res publica* in 27 BC. Of course Octavian was not going to become a *privatus* and thus in 27 BC he was given more honours and new powers, after he handed back the triumviral powers. As earlier with the triumvirate the justification for the retaining of provinces and armies was new fixed-termed assignments, this time the empire-wide pacification (see below).

This is supported by *RG* 34.1, where Augustus describes his position before the return of powers in 28–27 BC as *potens rerum omnium*. His powers at this point are best defined as the triumviral powers, now all vested in him, and certainly cannot be explained as the powers of a consul or a consular *imperium*. They are best traced back to 32 BC, as the *consensus* of chapter 34.1 can only be the oath of 32 BC (*RG* 25.2 on the battle of Actium), thus connecting Actium and the ending of the civil wars. The triumvirs shared all the powers in the state, but in the end the only one left was Octavian, having retained the powers of his two fellow triumvirs. These were the powers he gave back in 28–27 BC: *potens rerum omnium*. Together with *RG* 1–3 this shows the huge importance of the triumviral assignment in the official ideology. The *res publica* was constituted in 28–27 BC and the powers of the triumvirate were given back, as the assignment had been successfully accomplished with the ending of the civil wars. Thus Actium and Alexandria, the victories of Octavian, provided Rome with peace and safety. As a result Augustus, in his own words, had more *auctoritas* than anybody else (*RG* 34.3) and naturally eventually became *pater patriae* (*RG* 35.1).

The nexus of Actium, Apollo, civil war and peace all centre round the triumvirate and triumviral assignment. This is how the Victor "wrote" the history of the period; this is how Augustus justified the triumviral period and this is how he wanted to be perceived by posterity.

Looking beyond the period of 42–27 BC there was a revival of Actium and Naulochus around 16 BC, with coins featuring both victories, and with Virgil and Propertius taking up the subject of Actium again. Already in 17 BC there were sacrifices to Diana and Apollo for the good fortunes of the Romans by Augustus and Agrippa on the Palatine in connection with the *Ludi saeculares*.³ According to Gurval the connection between the Palatine temple and Actium was invented by Virgil in the *Aeneid*, published 19 BC, and later taken up by Propertius 4.6 in 16 BC (1995, 87–136). This is a perverse conclusion, as it is against the abundance of evidence linking Apollo and Actium together long before 19 BC, not least onsite at Actium. Perhaps the revival was connected to an unknown monument from 16 BC, as this may be depicted on a contemporary coin. This revival no doubt had the purpose of reminding the Romans of the past deeds of Augustus.

It may also show an indirect connection between the triumviral assignment and the new assignment of Augustus to bring empire-wide pacification. Fixed-term tasks, similar to the constituting of the *res publica* and ending the civil wars, became the standard way for Octavian/Augustus to justify monarchy. In 27 BC the provinces were only accepted for a limited period (ten years), but then prolonged, as the assignment was still not accomplished. This happened in 18 BC, Augustus accepting a five-year renewal, soon extended to ten, and then again for ten years in 8 BC, AD 3 and AD 13. The Parthian settlement of 20 BC and the *Ara Pacis* in 13 BC are part of this development.⁴ Looking at the triumviral period and the Principate in those terms, there seems no obvious break, no new beginning or indeed any transformation. Later Ovid in the *Fasti* summed up some of the ideas that had been part of the regime's ideology since Actium, writing on the day of the dedication of the *Ara Pacis*:

*Ipsam nos carmen deduxit Pacis ad aram.
haec erit a mensis fine secunda dies.
frondibus Actiacis comptos redimita capillos,
Pax, ades et toto mitis in orbe mane.*

³ CIL 6.32323, line 139–146; Zosimus 2.5.1–5.

⁴ See Rich 2003. Regarding the *Ara Pacis* Wallace-Hadrill 1993, 70 stresses that “One of its most astonishing features is its complete lack of triumphal imagery”. This is perhaps true, even though the Roma relief may have shown a triumphant *Roma*, but is less surprising given the assignment of empire-wide pacification and given the information in RG 13: the temple of Janus was closed when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the empire. This is about peace under Roman rule.

The course of my song hath led me to the altar of Peace. The day will be the second from the end of the month. Come, Peace, thy dainty tresses wreathed with Actian laurels, and let gentle presence abide in the whole world (1.709–12) (trans. Frazer 1931).

This is a powerful eulogy to *Pax Augusta*, dressed with Actian laurel, whose presence is requested by Ovid. But this is not idealised peace, as the soldiers still bear arms (715) and the enemies may fear Aeneas' sons (717). According to Green there is an incompatibility between the *Ara Pacis* and the idea of a return to the Golden Age on one hand, and Ovid's insistence on arms etc. on the other.⁵ This is a misunderstanding of the ideology of the regime. RG 12 stresses that the altar is decreed on Augustus' return after his arranging of affairs in Spain and Gaul. Vitally, RG 13 stresses that the temple of Janus was closed *cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax*. Similar statements appear in Livy 1.19.3 and the inscription from the Victory Monument at Actium itself. This suggests that Ovid was indeed very close to the ideology of the regime: Actium meant peace, as the result of victory, peace after civil war (RG 25.2 and 34.1).⁶

The *Ara Pacis* was not the only change to the *Campus Martius*, as Agrippa built the *Pantheon* in his third consulship (27 BC).⁷ Dio 53.27.1–2 lists the *Pantheon* and the *basilica Neptuni* and *thermae Agrippae* under the year 25 BC, but he may just have grouped them together there.⁸ Tacitus describes the buildings as *monumenta Agrippae* (Tac. Ann. 15.39). The gods worshipped in the temple are the same as later in the temple of *Mars Ultor*: *Divus Julius*, Mars and Venus.⁹ Ziolkowski wrongly suggests, using Dio 53.27.1, that the complex was built to celebrate Agrippa's victories by land and sea; in fact Agrippa was commemorating his achievements as Octavian's admiral.¹⁰ For this

⁵ Green 2004, 233–236, esp. 236.

⁶ See Murray and Petsas 1989, 76.

⁷ CIL VI 896.1. On the *Pantheon* of Agrippa, see de Fine Licht 1966, 172–9; Rich 1990, 163 on Dio 53.27.1–3. Dio was unaware that the temple he knew was not that of Agrippa, but that of Hadrian. Dio also rejects that it was a “temple of all gods”, even though this is true. Dio also tells the story of Agrippa wanting to set up a statue of Augustus in the temple, which was refused by Augustus. It seems unlikely that Agrippa did offer this honour of cult to Augustus without first discussing the matter with Augustus. According to Ziolkowski 1994, 275–276 the temple was later turned into a *Pantheon*.

⁸ Rich 1990, 163.

⁹ Dio 53.27.2–3.

¹⁰ Ziolkowski 1999, 56; Haselberger 2007, 119.

he was rewarded with the *corona navalis*.¹¹ Livy suggests that this was presented to Agrippa after the victory over Sextus Pompeius 36 BC (*Per.* 129). The patron god of Sextus was of course Neptune.¹²

Pliny tells a story about Cleopatra's pearls, one ending in the possession of Octavian. This pearl was cut into two pieces and used as earrings for Venus in the *Pantheon* (*N.H.* 9.121–122).¹³ Originally there were two pearls. The story goes that Antonius and Cleopatra discussed how it would be possible to spend 10,000,000 sesterces on a single banquet. In the end Cleopatra spent that alone on her own meal; vinegar was used to melt one of the pearls, the largest ever, and it was then consumed. This story is similar to the one found in *RG* 24: the decadent east versus the Roman west, Antonius (/Cleopatra) versus Octavian, the private *luxuria* of Antonius and Cleopatra versus the public expenses of Octavian. And vitally, the story connects the *Pantheon* and the battles against Antonius and Cleopatra.

One of the temples mentioned in the *Fasti* of the Arvals is *Neptunus in campo*. According to Ziolkowski this suggests that the *Pantheon*, with the *basilica Neptuni*, is in fact the mentioned temple, as Dio 66.24.2 does mention the basilica as a temple.¹⁴ More problematically, he suggests that the temple of Mars mentioned by the Arvals is also referring to the *Pantheon*, because of the cult statues of Venus and Mars. The *Pantheon* is according to Ziolkowski the temple of *Mars in campo*.¹⁵ The temple of Mars has traditionally been connected to the temple of Mars *in circo*, but the evidence does stress it to be *in campo*.¹⁶ Ziolkowski concludes

¹¹ Vell 2.81.3; Virg. *Aen.* 8.683–4; Dio 49.14.3; Livy *Per.* 129, Sen. *Ben.* 3.32.4. According to Pliny *N.H.* 16.7 Varro was the first to receive this honour.

¹² Hadas 1930, 114; Taylor 1931, 120–121; Zanker 1990, 48; Gurval 1995, 91. The relationship between the son, his father and Neptune, is evident on the coins of Sextus minted in Sicily 42–40 BC. On this, see *RRC*, 511/2a to 3c). Pompeius Magnus with dolphin and Neptune, see no. 483/1–2.

¹³ See also Macr. *Sat.* 3.17.18; Kleiner 2005, 161–162. Similar an image of Cleopatra in the temple of *Venus Genetrix* was not torn down by Octavian but remained there as a trophy (*App. B.C.* 2.102; Dio 51.22.3). Kleiner 2005, 149 stresses that Cleopatra is glorified in Augustan Rome, which does seem a misconception, as she was the enemy.

¹⁴ Ziolkowski 1999, 56. The *dies natalis* of *Neptunus in campo* is 1st December, see Deggrasi 1963, 93, 99, 198–99. The calendars mentioning 1st December are contemporary or later than the Arval inscription, according to Ziolkowski 1994, 262. He concludes that they are two different structures. See also Gradel 2002a, 131 on the issue.

¹⁵ Ziolkowski 1994, 261. This is rejected by Haselberger 2007, 113, n. 143, 139, n. 176, but without engaging with the suggestions of Ziolkowski.

¹⁶ Dio 56.24.3; *Consolatio ad Liviam* 231; Ovid *Fasti* 2.857–860. See Ziolkowski 1999, 56. For the theory that Dio is referring to the temple *in circo*, see Richardson 1992, 245; Ziolkowski 1994, 262 with scholarship. For the view that there was a temple of

that the temples of Mars and Neptune *in campo* would facilitate and then become an ill-defined *Pantheon* and a basilica to Neptune.¹⁷ This is a fascinating theory but one that can hardly be shown to be correct, but there is a good point in suggesting a connection between the temples of Mars and Neptune *in campo* and the complex surrounding the *Pantheon*.

Of course the *Pantheon* does suggest a temple to the *gens* with Venus, *Divus Julius*, and Mars, the father of Romulus, as in the Forum of Augustus and the temple of *Mars Ultor*. But according to Ziolkowski the *Pantheon* was built to commemorate Actium.¹⁸ There is no doubt that Mars and Neptune as a pair are connected to Actium, thus equalling the pairing reported by the *Fasti* of the Arvals (see chapter 5). The fact that the *Fasti* of the Arvals mention temples to Mars and Neptune *in campo*, together with Apollo *ad theatrum Marcelli* on the birthday of Augustus, knowing as it is from Dio 51.19.2 that the birthday was used for thanksgiving for the victory at Actium, it seems acceptable to suggest some kind of connection between this information and the complex built by Agrippa. That the temples perhaps were built later than the honours mentioned by Dio is a technicality. Perhaps Agrippa built the complex to facilitate the thanksgivings, as Octavian could hardly have done it himself. It is no surprise that the Augustan Peace Altar in the end was built in the same area: the field of Mars had indeed turned into a field of peace because of Octavian's victories on "land and sea".

In 32 BC Octavian started building his Mausoleum on the field of Mars, as a counterbalance to the tomb of Antonius and Cleopatra at Alexandria. The last Augustan change to the building programme on the *Campus Martius*, as envisaged by Augustus, was the *RG*, put up in front of his Mausoleum after his death. In the *RG* Actium is the vital battle, as

Mars in campo, see Platner and Ashby 1926, 329; Coarelli 1997, 187–195, suggesting a location near the *Ara Martis*; Haselberger 2002, 165, stressing an unknown temple on the *Campus Martius*. The date of the temple of course depends on the theory accepted, but Dio 56.24.3 makes 9 BC the *terminus ante quem*.

¹⁷ Ziolkowski 1999, 56; 1994, 264–265. According to Richardson 1992, 245 there never was a temple to Mars *in campo*. Platner and Ashby 1926, 329 mention the possibility of a temple, but in conjunction with the ancient altar of Mars *in campo*. See also Coarelli 1997, 182–197. On the *basilica Neptuni*, see Platner and Ashby 1926, 81; Richardson 1992, 54.

¹⁸ Ziolkowski 1994, 271. According to Lesk 2007, 33 this was the main victory monument in Rome commemorating the battle of Actium, but in fact the arch of Actium and other monuments in Rome, i.e. the Palatine temple of Apollo and monuments on the *Forum Romanum* did as well.

it brought peace and ended the civil wars. Egypt alone cannot constitute the ending of the civil war, as it is mentioned as a foreign expansion in *RG* 27.1, and thus Actium is the only other possibility. The *Ara Pacis* stresses peace, the Horologium the victory over Egypt, and Agrippa's commemoration of Mars and Neptune stresses Naulochus and Actium. As with the Palatine and the *Forum Romanum* the *Campus Martius* turned into an Augustan project. The field of war became the field of peace: Actium ended the civil war and the capture of Alexandria saved the *res publica* from grave danger, all in accordance with the triumviral assignment. Thus the *res publica* had indeed been constituted.

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